MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY
(University with Potential for Excellence)
DISTANCE EDUCATION

B.A.
HISTORY
COMMON TO ECONOMICS
SECOND YEAR

Paper - II

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA (1526 TO 1967)

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Dear Students,

Cordial Greetings. You are most welcome to the 2nd year of your study in B.A. History. The syllabus prescribed for 2nd year, is the continuation of what you have read in your first year upto 1526 A.D.,

The second year syllabus covers approximately 450 years of the political and cultural history of India, consisting of India's varied events notably among them – the Mughal rule, the rise of Marathas, advent of Europeans, the simmering discontent against British erupted in 1857, the founding of **Indian National Congress,** the contribution of the Moderates and Extremists, Gandhiji's entry into National Political scenario and the resultant Independence to India, August 1947. Subsequently the contribution of great political leaders like Panditiji and Shastri are provided in nut shell. For convenience of understanding the subject, it is presented in 20 lessons. To supplement this, DDE organizes at select centres personal contact seminar classes and make use of it to enhance your understanding of the subject.

University model question is also attached Map question is compulsory and Maps are appended with at the end of the lessons. Further you are advised to refer those books which are suggested at the end of every lesson.

With best Wishes.

PROFESSOR & HOD
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, DDE,
MKUNIVERSITY

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA FROM AD 1526 TO AD 1967 - SYLLABUS

THE MUGHALS

1. **The establishment of Mughal Rule – Some Important Rulers –**

   Babar – SherShah – Akbar – Shah Jahan – Aurangazeb.

2. **Some Aspects of the Mughal rule**

   Administration under the Mughals – Religious Condition – Din Ilahi – Art and Literature – Social and Economic Condition – Decline and Fall of the Mughals.

3. **The Marathas**

   The rise of the Maratha's to power – Shivaji – Administration – Social and Economic Condition – Hindu Revivalism.

4. **The Advent of Europeans**

   The Portuguese – Dutch – French – English. The Anglo – French rivalry in the Carnatic – Ascendancy of the British – Administrative system under the British Company.

5. **The Revolt of 1857**

   The Causes – Course – Consequences – Some Leading personalities.

6. **The First Phase of Freedom Struggle**

   Genesis and Growth of the Indian National Congress – Moderates – Rise of Extremists – Partition of Bengal – Home Rule movement – Some personalities - Ghokale, Tilak, Lajpatrai, Annie Besant, V.O.Chidambaram

7. **The Second Phase of Freedom Struggle**

   Jalianwalabagh Tragedy – Non – Co-Operation Movement – Swarajists – Civil Disobedience Movement – Second World War and the Congress – Quit India Movement – Partition and Independence – some personalities – Motilal Nehru, Mohamad Ali Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajaji – the British legacy.

8. Some aspects of the British rule

Social Reforms under British – Economic Condition – Religious and Social Development – Growth of Local Self-government – Development of Education.

9. Indian Democracy

Salient Features of the Indian Constitution – Elections in India – Planned economic development – States Reorganization in 1956 – Administration of Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Sastri – Indian Presidency from Dr.Rajendra Prasad to Fakruddin Ali Ahamed.

10. India and the World

Clash with Pakistan over Kashmir – Chinese Aggression – Policy of Non-Alignment – Indo-American relations – Indo – Soviet Friendship.

MAPS

1. Mughal Empire under Akbar
2. Mughal Empire under Aurangazeb
3. Shivaji's Empire
4. Early European Settlements
5. Centres of 1857 revolt
6. India at the time of Independence
7. India after reorganization of states

BOOKS RECOMMENDED

R.Sathianatha Iyer	History of India (Vol.II, III)
A.Nilakanta Sastri	Advanced History of India
Ishwari Prasad	The Short History of Muslim Rule in India
P.E.Roberts	British India
S.C.Roy Chowdry	Social, Cultural and Economic History of India
R.C.Majumdar and others	Advanced History of India
Cunningham	The History of Marathas
K.Rajayyan	History of Freedom Struggle in India
G.Venketesan	History of Freedom Struggle in India
P. Gomathinayagam	History of India (Vol.II)
Chopra	Social and Cultural History of India Vols. II and III.
Sarkar	Modern India
A.L.Srivastava	The Mughal Empire
Sinha and Roy	A History of India
V.D. Mahajan	Mughal Rule in India – History of Modern India
Vincent Smith	The Oxford History of India

B.A, HISTORY - SECOND YEAR - PAPER II

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA (FROM A.D. 1526 TO A.D. 1967)

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LESSON - 1

INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABAR'S INVASION BABAR, HUMAYUN, SHERSHAH

Space for Hints

INTRODUCTION

Babar laid the foundation of the Mughal rule in India in 1526 after having defeated the Afghans and the Rajputs. Babar was a descendant of Timur on his father's side and of Chegniz Khan on the side of his mother. The Mughals were so proud of their connections with Timur that they called themselves Timurids. After the death of Babar in 1530 his son Humayun came to the throne. Humayun was defeated by Shershah Suri in 1540 and was forced to leave India. During the brief period of his rule Shershah (1540-1555) initiated many reforms. Sher Shah was the most remarkable ruler of medieval India, yet his rule is one of the most significant one in the administration of Indian History.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

a) Understand the Babar's invasion in to India.

b) Analyse the importance of the first Battle of Panipat (1526)

c) Sketch the career and achievements of Sher Shah.

d) Understand restoration efforts of Humayun.

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Political Condition
- 1.1.1. The Kingdom of Delhi
- 1.1.2 Mewar
- 1.1.3 Malwa
- 1.1.4 The Punjab
- 1.1.5 Kashmir
- 1.1.6 Sindh
- 1.1.7 Gujarat
- 1.1.8 Khandesh
- 1.1.9 Bengal
- 1.1.10 Orissa
- 1.1.11 The Bahimini Kingdom

    1.1.12 Vijaya Nagar Empire

1.2 Social and Cultural Conditions

1.3 Economic Condition

1.4 Military Condition

1.5 Babar

    1.5.1 Expeditions of India
    1.5.2 The First Battle of Panipat (1526)
    1.5.3 Significane of First Battle of Panipat (1526)
    1.5.4 Babar and the Rajputs
    1.5.5 Babar's Memoirs
    1.5.6 Babar's place in History

1.6 Humayun (15.30 and 1555- 56)

    1.6.1 Humayun and Sherkhan
    1.6.2 Restoration of Humayun

1.7 Sher Shah Sur (1540-1545)

    1.7.1 Sher Shah's Administration
    1.7.2 Central Administration
    1.7.3 Provincial Administration
    1.7.4 Army
    1.7.5 Finance
    1.7.6 Currency
    1.7.7 Buildings, Roads and Sarais
    1.7.8 Estimate

1.8 Let us sum up

1.9 Keywords

1.10 Answer for CYP Questions

1.11 Books for Further Reading

1.12 Questions and Exercises

1.1. POLITICAL CONDITION

India, in the first half of the 16th century was divided politically into four well defined zones. In the words of A.L. Srivastava, the Political condition of our country in the first quarter of the 16th century resembled that of the early years of 11th century A.D. When the sub-continent of India was parceled out among numerous mutually warring States". First, there was the northern belt of Muslim powers extending from the mouths of Indus to the Bay of Bengal. Within the belt, in the west, lay the kingdoms of Sind Multan and the Punjab. To the South and East lay Jaunpur belonging to Sharqi dynasty. Further east, there was Bengal, almost isolated from the main currents of Delhi Politics. The second zone consisted of the Southern Muslim states such as Gujarat, Malwa, Khandesh and Deccan ruled by the Bahmini Kings. Wedged in between these two groups of Muslim powers, there was Rajputhana. To the south-east and east of Rajputhana and Malwa, lay the forest region of Bundelkhand and Gondwana, still the home of Hindu Kings. This formed the third zone. Lastly, there was the empire of Vijayanagar which presented a strong opposition to the Muslim advance into south. In this zone, besides Vijayanagar, there was the kingdom of Orissa which acted as a barrier to the south-ward march of Bengal. Although the greater part of India, on the eve of the Mughal Conquest, was in possession of the empire of Delhi, the power of the Lodi dynasty was on the decline. Ibrahim Lodi proved to be a tyrant and lost goodwill and sympathy of the tribes. He was soon to lose the kingdom also. The Punjab and jaunpur revolted; the Rajputs ever on the alert to interfere in Delhi affairs defeated ibrahim in two battles. In short, India was divided into many warring fragments on the eve of Babar's invasion. Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks "India was thus a congeries of states at the opening of the 16th century and likely to be the easy prey of an invader who had the strength and will to attempt her conquest". In the following paragraphs, we shall be dealing with the political situation that prevailed in different parts of the country on the eve of the Mughal Conquest.

1.1.1 The Kingdom of Delhi

The kingdom of Delhi was considerably reduced to an extent in the opening of the 15th century. Ibrahim, son of Sikandar, who succeeded his father in 1518 cared more for forms and royal prerogative. His authority did not extend beyond Delhi, Agra, Doab, Jaunpur, Chanderi and a part of Bihar. In order to strengthen his position, he tried to destroy the feudal lords. He made the great Afghan chiefs stand motionless in his presence with folded hands had vexed them with petty rules of etiquette. He suppressed his subject and insulted the nobles. It has been rightly said that the policy of the Sultan publicly declared that kingship knew no kingship and that all his nobles were his vassals and servants. The offended nobles organized many revolts against him. When discontent arose, he endeavoured to put down the rising opposition by the blood of some of the leading Amirs. The result was still wider dissatisfaction.

1.1.2 Mewar

Mewar with its capital at Chitor, was the most extensive and powerful state in Rajaputhana or Rajasthan. The reigning family traced its descent from Guhil. It exercised sway over Chitor and the adjacent territory since the 6th century A.D. This dynasty produced a series of remarkable ruler among whom Rana Kumbha occupied a pre-emiknent place. Babar's contemporary on the throne of. Chitor was the famous Rana Sangram Singh, popularly known as Rana Sanga. He was an able warrior and a great general.

A hero of a hundred fights, he had received as many as eighty wounds from sword. He had lost an eye and an arm and was crippled in one leg. He possessed the ability of a politician and a statesman. He was the hero of the time and the acknowledged Hindu leader of the nation. He was followed by two hundred vassal Rajput chiefs. Rana Sanga was thus, the greatest. His ambition was to establish Hindu rule over Delhi. In order to satisfy his ambition, he invited Babar to invade India.

1.1.3 Malwa

In central India there were three important states always at war with one another in order to gain political supremacy. They were Malwa, Gujarat and Mewar. The kingdom of Malwa had become independent under Dilawar Khan Ghori. But in 1485, Muhamad Khan established khilji rule in Malwa. The contemporary of Babar on the throne of Malwa was Muhamad II, who was an incompetent ruler. During his reign Malwa fell under the control of Medini Rao. The gallant Rajput Chief served vigilantly as prime Minister. The Hindus were appointed to important positions of trust and responsibility.

This excited the jealousy of the Muslim nobles who tried to bring about the overthrow of Medini Rao with the help of the Sultan of Gujarat. In 1531, Malwa was conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, Medini Rao, however, secured the support of Rana Sanga of Mewar. Mahmud II was defeated and carried as a prisoner to Chitor by Rana Sanga. In course of time, Mahmud was released and restored to his kingdom. Even this act of generosity failed to save Malwa which continued to be distracted by quarrels. (A.L. Srivastava).

1.1.4 The Punjab

The Punjab was nominally a part of the Kingdom of Delhi. But its Governor, Daulat Khan Lodi was not on good terms with Sultan Ibrahim and acted as an Independent monarch. His son Dilwar Khan was cruely treated by Ibrahim Lodi. Trembling for his safety, Daulat Khan sent word to Babar to attack India. The north-Western frontier province of the Sultanate of Delhi, was thus not in a position to put up any resistence against any foreign invader.

1.1.5 Kashmir

To the North-West of the Punjab lay the independent kingdom of Kashmir. The Muslim adventurer, Shah Mirza, captured the throne of Kashmir from its-Hindu ruler and laid the foundation of a Muslim dynasty. The most notable Sultan of Kashmir was Zain-ul Abidin (1420-70). Because of his liberal policy, religious toleration and patronage to Sanskrit literature, he has been called "The Akbar of Kashmir". After his death in 1470, anarchy followed. Because of its long distance from Delhi and of its internal weakness, Kashmir could not play influential part in the politics of Northern India.

1.1.6. Sindh

Sindh was in a distracted condition in the first quarter of the 16th century. Its powerful Sumra dynasty was in decay, in 1520 being compelled to abandon Khandahar to Babar. Shah Beh Arghur, the ruler of Khandahar turned towards Sindh. He defeated the Sumras and occupied the province. His son, Shah Hussain consolidated his rule and even annexed Multan. At the time of Babar's invasion, the power of the Afghans in Sindh was at its height.

1.1.7. Gujarat

Muzaffar Shah was the first independent ruler of Gujarat. He was followed by Mahmud Begarha in 1458. The Ruler of Gujarat at the time of Babar's invasion was Mahmud Shah II. He waged many continuous wars against his enemies. He was defeated and his death in 1526 was followed by a period of chaos and confusion. All these considerably weakened the Kingdom of Gujarat and in July 1526, Bahadur Shah succeeded to the throne. He was an ambitious King. Yet, he was a successful ruler.

1.1.8. Khandesh

The idependent Kingdom of Khandesh was founded by Malik Raj Faruqi. The rulers of Gujarat tried to establish their sway over Khandesh. Hence, the two Kingdoms were almost perpetually at war. After the death of Daud in 1508, Khandesh was plunged into disorder owing to fights of rival claimants to its throne. Adil Khan III came out victorious in the war of succession. Mahmud I succeeded him in 1520. Owing to its distances from Delhi and weak condition, Khandesh did not play any significant role in the politics of northern India.

1.1.9. Bengal

Since the time of Firoz Tughlak (1351-88) Bengal was an independent kingdom under the Hussain dynasty. Ala-ud-din its first ruler, was an able monarch. He annexed Kamatpur in Kooch Bihar on the border of Assam. His son, was the contemporary of Babar. He was a patron of Bengali literature. The Mahabharata was rendered into Bengali under his orders. The province was prosperous and the people were contented.

1.1.10. Orissa

The Hindu Kingdom of Orissa was not subjugated by any Muslim ruler. Orissa, however, did not play any part in the politics of Northern India. However, it acted as a check upon the expansion of Bengal towards the South.

1.1.11. The Bahmini Kingdom

Bahman Shah was the founder of the Bahmini kingdom. It was established in 1347 only to save the Shias form the attack of the orthodox Delhi Sultans. Gulbarga was its capital. Bahan Shah was a warrior statesman. He dividnd for the collection of the revenue. The system worked tolerably well under a king powerful enough to keep the governors under control. Its dangers became apparent even during the reign of his successor. It was the power of the governors that ultimately led to the dismemberment of the kingdom. On its ruin sprang the five independent Kingdoms namely Berar (1484-1557), Ahamad nagar (1489-1633), Bijapur (1489-1686), Golconda (1512-1687) and Bidar (1526-1590). These kingdoms were always at war with one another for supremacy.

1.1.12. Vijayanagar Empire

In the Deccan, the people never reconciled themselves to Muslim rule. In order to rescue the Hindus from the scourges of War, the Hindus of the Deccan started a movement under the leadership of two brothers, Harihara and Bukka. They were the two sons of Sangama. With the powerful support of the sage Vidyaranya, they founded the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1339 A.D. to stop the tide of Muslim domination in the South. The history of Vijayanagar Empire is bound up with endless Wars with its northern Muslim Neighbour, the Bahmini Kingdom. After the Sangama dynasty came to an end, the Saluvas came to power.

The dynasty was succeeded by the Tuluva dynasty. The contemporary of Babar on the throne of Vijayanagar was the great Krishna Deva Raya. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese mechant, pictured the splendour of Vijayanagar under its ablest ruler, Krishna Deva Raya. Fernao Nuniz, another ortuguese visitor to the court of Krishna Deva Raya portrayed the magnificence of his empire with its flourishing commerce, lovable art and loyal army. Foreign diplomats were dazzled by its wealth, prosperity and power. Vijayanagar reached its zenith under him.

N.B. These states ambitious as they were of establishing their individual supremacy, were at perpetual War with one another. The chivalrous Rajputs under Rana Sanga checked the political expansion of the Sultanate of Delhi. In central Hindustan, both the Muslim Kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat had suffered considerably at the hands of the Rana of Chitor In the east, the expansion of the Muslim Kingdom of Bengal had been barred by the Hindu rulers of Orissa and Assam. In the Deccan, the Empire of Vijayanagar had so far successfully checkded the southward expansion of the Bahmini Kingdom and its successors, the five kingdoms of the Deccan.

1.2. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

Socially, India was passing through a period of transaction. Owing to their long stay in the midst of the indigenous population., the Turko-Afghans were gradually shedding their foreign ways and becoming Indianised. The local converts to Islam had risen in number and added to the numerical strength of the Muslim society. Except Sikandar Lodi all others failed to check the growing animosity between the Hindus and Muslims. In kashmir and Bengal, some of the enlightened Sultans pursued a policy of religious toleration and patronised Sanskrit and modern Indian languages. Zain-ul-Abidin to Kashmir not only recalled the exiled Brahmin families, but admitted learned Hindus to his society, granted perfect religious toleration to them, abolished the jizya and even prohibited cow-slaughter. He employed Sanskrit and Hindi scholars in his court. The people of the Happy valley called him. 'The Akbar of kashmir'. Similarly Nasir –ud-din Nusrat Shah of Bengal patronized Bengali literature and got Mahabharatha translated into Bengali. The conditions were not much different in other provinces. Here and there, at certain timjes, fanatical rulers imitated the policy of discrimination and religious persecuation of the earlier Sultans of Delhi. However, Hindu rulers were fast rising to power and importance. So, it was very difficult to revive the old and forgotton days of the early Turkish conquest. Edwards and Garrett remark thus.

"Although India was politically divided, yet culturally she was becoming one. "A little before the beginning of the 16th century, a deliberate attempt was made to bridge the gulf between Hinduism and Islam. The latter reformers of the Bhakti Cult, such as Ramananda, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak particularly stressed the need for Hindu Muslim unity. They freely made converts from among the Muslims and Hindus alike. This movement ushered in an age of greater understanding between the two communities. This also, to a certain degree, washed off the caste distinction. Hindu began to revere muslim Saints. Muslims began to associate with Hindu yogis and hermits. The Bhakti Cult encouraged the growth of vernaculars particularly in the south and in the north. Urdu became the medium of contacts between the Turko-Afghan rulers and the native people. Sanskrit was not neglected. It flourished at the court of the Hindu Kings. In the field of architecture, too, a notable contribution was made by the united efforts of the Hindus and the Muslims. Many Hindu officials were recrutited to serve the Muslim Emperors.

1.3. ECONOMIC CONDITION

In spite of the fact that India had been invaded and looted several times by outsiders, it was quite rich in the early year of the 16th century. Agriculture was in a flourishing condition. There was always a surplus of corn produced in the country. Yet, Babar gave a dark picture of India in his Memories. The surplus of corn was exported to foreign countries. There was brisk internal trade in the country. India maintained trade relations with Malaya, China, Central Asias, Afganistan, Iran, Tibet and Bhutan. Many kinds of industries, particularly textile industry including the manufacture of cotton, woodlen and silken cloths, sugar, metal and paper industries, were found in most parts of India. The upper and middle class people were well-to-do and fond of luxury. The common people, on the other hand were poor. Yet, they did not suffer from starvation. In short, the country was so prosperous and wealthy that Babar, noted in his diary that the chief excellence of Hindustan is "the amount of gold coined and uncoined which may be found there".

1.4. MILITARY CONDITION

In spite of plenty and prosperity, India was militarily weak. The political confusion in the first quarter of the 16th century had prevented a co-operative effort for the protection and defence of the mother land. Though there was no dearth of soldierly talent, India lagged behind other countries in matters of military progress, qualitites and caliber of weapons and development of tactics. The Delhi army under the Lodis had ceased to be a national force and was organized on clannish basis. The soldier, as a rule obeyed his immediate tribal chief rather than the Sultan. The four divisions of Indian army had lost their mobility. The military officers and soldiers, were guided by out-moded strategy. There were no powerful fortifications in the northwestern frontier to prevent foreign invasions. This was the state of affairs in India at the opening of 16th Century. Naturally an adventurer who had lost his hold on his native land, was forced to cost his covetous eyes on India. Babar was not an exception to this. He found his glorious future in this confused state of affairs. As a talented warrior, he did not fail to make his fortunes smile at him. Having been trained in the school of adversity, he left Kabul and invaded India many a time. But he was victorious in his final expedition in 1526. The first Battle of Panipat (1526) changed the course of Indian History. India passed into the hands of the Mughls from the Turko-Afghans who kept her under their thumb for a period of not more than four centuries.

1.5. BABAR (1483-1530)

Zahiruddin Muhammed Babar was born on 14 February, 1483 at Andijan, the capital of Farghana, a small Central Asian State which is now part of Russian Turkestan. His Father Umar Shaikh was the ruler of Farghana. Babar claimed descent from Timur on his father's side and from Chengiz Khan on his mothers side. He never liked to be called a Mughal (or Mongol) and he styled himself as a Turk. His family belonged to the Chagtoi section of the Turkish race. He was a Trans Oxian Turk. In 1494, Umar Shaikh Mirza lost his life in an encounter with the forces of his close relatives who attacked Farghana and Babar who was only eleven years and four months old, succeeded him. In his early years Babar had mastered his mother tongue, Turkish and also a Persian. He was intelligent and possessed highly developed faculties. He could easily appreciate the significance of political events and judge human character. He had also acquired experience of administration, war, diplomacy. Babar was the king of Farghana from 1494 to 1502. On his father's death he retrieved Farghana from his hostile relatives and gave it a sound administration. He longed to sit on the throne of Samarkhand which had been the capital of his ancestor, Timur. He made several attempts on Samarkhand and captured it on two occasions when he was the ruler of Farghana but lost the ancestral kingdom on both the occasions. While he was busy with the conquest of Samarkhand his own kingdom Farghana slipped from his hands twice. Thus for many years he was "like a king on a chess board, moved from place and buffetted about like pebbles on the sea shore". In 1502, he had to flee from Farghana and spend the next two years in exile, poverty and misery; but he continued his sport and fun as usual. He proceeded to Kabul and captured it in 1504. During the next six years, he increased his arms and took steps to consolidate his hold over his new kingdom. He assumed the title Padshah in 1507. He conquered Samarkhand for the third time in 1510 and again lost it. He abandoned entire Trans Oxiona. He returned to Kabul from 1513. He was king of Kabul from 1514 to 1520. As King of Kabul, he led annual expeditions to put down his rebellious Afghan chiefs. From the Uzbegs, the Mongols, the Afghan and the Turks, he had learnt advanced techniques of war "Besides the school of adversity in which Babar had his early training called forth the great qualitites of endurance, patience, cool-courage and contempt of death which made him a veteran leader to men, never losing hope and faith even in the most trying circumstances. His career in central Asia prepared him for the role that he was destined to play in Indian history" (A.L. Srivastava.)

1.5.1. Expeditions of India

As King of Kabul, Babar led for four expeditions into the territory of India. They were all in the nature of renaissance. Early in 1519, he undertook his first expendition to India. He defeated the Yusufzai tribe, captured Bajaur and proceeded to the town of Bhera. He claimed Punjab as his own since his ancestor Timur had conquered it in the 14th century. Then he returned to Kabul. Later in the same year, he again truned towards India. He marched through the Khyber Pass but had to return to Kabul, as he had received news of disturbance in Badakshan. In 1523, he undertook his third expendition. After recovering Bajaur and Bhera he captured, Sialkot. He returned to Kabul to tackle the disturbances in Kandahar and in 1522, he acquired Kandahar by treachery. Babar was now free from complication at home and in the event of an invasion of India, he felt secure in the year, as the formidable fort of Kandahar was now in his possession. At this time, he received information from Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab, who sought his help in making himself master of the Punjab in return for a promise to recognise Babar as his sovereign. Babar readily accepted the invitation and proceeded to Lahore in 1524. The reigning Sultan of Delhi, ibrahim Lodi had defeated Daulat Khan and the latter had gone into exile. Babar defeated the

Afghan garrisons, captured Lahore and proceeded to Dipalpur, where Daulat Khan joined him. He kept the Punjab for himself and bestowed Jalandar to Daulat Khan, Sultanpur to Dilawar Khan, the son of Daulat Khan, and Dipalpur to Alam Khan Lodi, an uncle of Sultan Ibrahim. Alam Khan Lodi was a candidate for the throne of Delhi and was seeking Babar's help in his proposed enterprise against his nephew, Sultan Ibrahim, Then, he returned to Kabul after making the necessarv arrangement. Soon Daulat Khan captured Sultanpur from his son and drove away Alam Khan form Dipalpur; but he could not re-occupy the whole of the Punjab. But Daulat Khan defeated an army sent against the rebels and invaders. Alam Khan fled to Kabul and entered into a treaty with Babar. He returned to India carrying Babar's instructions to the Mughal garrisons. But he was reduced by Daulat Khan. Both of them marched towards Delhi but were defeated by Ibrahim Lodi. When Babar heard this news, he finally decided to embark on an expendition to Hindustan.

1.5.2. The First Battle of Panipat(1526)

Babar set out in November 1525 and was joined on the way by his son Humayun with troops from Badakshan. Daulat Khan was seized and brought before Babar. He was sent to Bhera to be imprisoned but died on the way to that place. Alam Khan came to Babar in a miserable condition. The deciseive battle was fought. On 21 April 1526 on the plain of Panipat the historic site where the throne of India has been thrice won. Though Ibrahim Lodi's army was large, it was defeated by Babar's force. The Battle lasted only half-a-day from 9o' clock in the morning till noon. The superior strategy and generalship of Babar won the day. Ibrahim Lodi was killed fighting bravely till his last breath. The Delhi army broke up in fight. The military power of the Lodies was completely shattered. The sovereignty of Hindustan departed from the Afghan race and passed to the Mughals who were to retain it for more than two centuries, with about 15 years break (1540-1555) during the Sur interregnum. The Turko-Afghan rulling class in India had become degenerate and its supremacy was in danger. New blood and vigour were injected into the foreign ruling class. The Mughal dynasty gave to the country a series of successful rulers. Sultan Ibrahim's army was a heterogenous force but the Mughal army had been wielded into a homogenous unit by Babar. Babar was the master of artillery consisting of big guns and small muskets. He was the master of a highly evolved system of warfare. Ibrahim was only a proud and an experienced youth. As a result of these reasons, Babar won a splendid

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Examine the social and economic conditions during the invasion of Babar?

2. Write a short note on Bahar's expeditions of India?

3. Explain the first battle of Panipet?

victory over the Afghans. Immediately after the victory at panipat, Babar sent a detachment of his army under Humayun to capture Agra and another detachment to capture Delhi. He proceeded to Agra and took up residence in Ibrahim's palace. Humayun presented to Babar the famous Kohinoor diamond which the former had received as a present from the royal family of Gwalior but Babar gave it back to his son. He treated Ibrahim's relatives very generously. He gave enormous presents to his generals and soldiers. Even the inhabitants of Kabul received one silver coin each. Babar kept little for himself and thus earned the nick name "Qlanda" (begging friar). He was content with fame.

1.5.3. Significance of Battle of Panipat(1526)

The Battle of Panipat proved to be absolutely decisive. The military might of the Lodies was completely shattered and their king Ibrahim Lodi himself dead on the battle field. The sovereign power of Hindustan departed from the Afghans at least for a temporary period and passed to the Mughals who were to wield it (about 15 years break) for more than two centuries. In the words of A.L. Srivastava 'The Mughal dynasty which was thus established, gave to the country was to undertake a new experiment of evolving a composite culture for the land. Immediately after the First Battle of Panipat, many of the Afghan chiefs had established themselves as independent monarchs and fortified their strongholds. The people were scared. Only with great difficulty, could Babar get fodder for his animals and food for his men. The climate of Hindustan was oppressive and his men longed to return to Kabul. He made an eloquent appeal to his soliers and they decided to return to Kabul. He made an eloquent appeal to his soliders and they decided to stay on and support him. Then several Afghan and non-Afghan chiefs submitted to him. Only one or two disagreed and left for Kabul.

1.5.4. Babar and the Rajputs

Rana Sangram Singh, better known as Rana Sanga, the ruler of Mewar has thought that, like Timur, Babar would retire after plundering the country' but he was disillusioned. The Mughal invader, had not only occupied the country but decided to stay on. Rana organized a confederacy of the Kings of Rajastan and recognised Ibrahim's brother Mahamud Lodi as King of Delhi. A battle became inevitable. The opposing armies met at Khanwa on 16. March 1527. Babar renounced wine and exhorted his soldiers to fight bravely. The Mughal artillery was far superior to the Rajput army. They swore on the Holy kuran to support him. The Rajput were routed and the Battle of Khanwa was won. Humayun was sent as governor of Badakshan. Rana Sanga died as broken hearted man on 1528. Mahmud Lodi escaped safely. The military power of the nobles was crippled but not completely broken. Babar stormed the fortress of Chanderi, situated near Bhopal and ruled by the famous Rajput chief Medini Rai, kand captured it. Now Babar wanted to put an end to the Afghans menace. He fought a battle with the Afghans at Ghogra. The Afghans were defeated. A treaty was concluded between Babar and Nusrath Shah of Bengal, one of the leaders of the Afghans. Nusrat Shah agreed not to give shelter to Babar's enemies. Babar now styled himself as Padshah or Emperor. Humayun who had been posted as governor of Badakshan left his charge and returned to Agra without his father's permission. He was instructed to go to his jagir, Sambhal. He fell ill there. Babar in his prayers for the recovery of his son offered his life. He fell ill and died on the 25th of December, 1503. His body was interned at Arambagh in Agra from where it was subsequently carried to Kabul and buried at at beautiful spot which had been selected by Babar himself for the purpose.

1.5.5. Babar's "Memoirs"

Babar was gifted with uncommon powers of observation. He took note of the Physical features of the country, its climate flora and fauna and the social, economic and cultural conditions of the people. He described all these in his autobiography styled the Tuzuk-i-Babari popularly known as the 'Memoirs'. He was not impressed by the Gangetic plains. He looked at it thought a conqueror's eye. Some of the un-favourable observations of Babar were hasty and sweeping. But he would not have condemned, had he lived longer in India and seen more of its people. "he does indeed admit it that there are advantages such as the abundance of workmen and the pleasant climate during the rains. The Tuzuki-i-babari was originally written in Turkish and translated four times into Persian. He was master of a flawless style in Turkish and his work was characterized by frankness. His style was simple and graceful. He is brief but exhaustive in his description. The Tuzuk-i-Babari is a first rate authority on the history of the age.

1.5.6. Character and Estimate

Babar was one of the brilliant monarchs of medieval Asia. As an individual, his character was exemplary. He was a dutiful son, a loving husband, and a good friend. Though fond of liquor, he never became a slave to intoxicants. He possessed amazing physical powers. He was a talented Swimmer. He was a great scholar and lover of fine arts. He was a first rate poet, in Turkish. He composed poems in Persian also and was the inventor of a style of verse called 'Mubalyan". Though he was gifted with all the qualities needed for scholarship, Babar may be called a soldier scholar. According to A.L. Srivastava,"he was a soldier first and scholar only next. His learning and culture did not prevent him from incessant militaryh activity nor did they produce in him that softness which is usually associated with scholarship". He was a staunch Sunni Muhammadan. From his very boyhood he was pre-eminently a soldier. He put down disobedience and even slackness with a strong hand. He had gradually become a first rate general. He displayed the qualities of a firm ruler. He maintained peace and discipline among his subjects and gave them protection. His administration was not remarkable. He was not a constructive genius. He did not take steps to establish a common revenue system for the empire. The judicial administration also was haphazard. He was a poor financier. He squandered away the immense wealth that fell into his hands. "He bequeathed to his son monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions which in times of peace was weak, structureless and invertebrate" (Rush-book Williams). Moreover four years were too short a period for a conqueror like Babar to consolidate his gains. "For permanent organisation there was no time" [Lane-Poole].

1.5.7. Babar's place in History

Though the real founder of the Mughal empire was Akbar, the first stone in the foundation of that empire had been laid by Babar. His place in history is that of a conqueror and of the layer of the foundation stone of the great Mughal empire. Stanley Lane Poole says "Babar is perhaps the most captivating personality in oriental history and the fact that he is able to impart this charm to his own memories is not the least of his title to fame. He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Timur and Akbar. The blood of the two scourges of Asia, the Mongol and the Turk, Chengiz Khan and Timur mixed in his veins and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tarter he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian.... The Power and pomp of Babar's dynasty are gone, the records of life the literary scripts that mocks at the remain, unaltered and imperishable.To the general reader, it is Babar's charming personality that is more attractive than his political achievement. He was one of the most interesting personalities in the history of the world. He was one of those restless men, "Who are so active in mind and body that they are never idle and always find time for everything". In the words of A.L. Srivastava. "In him were blended the happy and harmonious virtues of a great prince and a good man. Adventure was the key breath of his life. He was at times ferocious and cruel, but this was a momentary flash."

1.6. HUMAYUN (1530 AND 1555-56)

Nasiruddin Muhammed Humayun was born Kabul on March 1508. His mother, Mahim Begam was probably a Shiah. He learnt Turkish. Arabic and Persian, but he was careless in spelling and style and did not acquire scholarly precision in composition and thought. He was interested in mathematics, Philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology. He had military training also. He was made governor of Badakshan at the age of 20. He fought at Panipat and Khanua and had a number of encounters with the Afghans. In 1526, he was given the district of Hissar Firuza and was subsequently given Sambhal as jagir. After the battle of Khanua, he was sent to Badakshan. He abandoned it after two years and returned to Agra in 1529. He was sent to manage his jagir of Sambhal. There he fell ill and recovered, thanks to the prayers of his father. Soon, Babar fell seriously ill, while on death-bed Babar nominated Humayun as his successor. The Prime Minister Nizamudin Ali Mujhammad Khalifa had planned to place Mahdi Khwaja, Babar's brother-in-law on the throne, the Prime Minister changed his mind. Humayun was accepted as the sovereign and his coronation took place on 30 December 1530. The throne of Delhi was beset with many dangers. The Mughal empire had been reduced in size. It was also ill-organised. Several powerful chief had been left unsubdued. Mahmud Lodi stil hoped to recover his ancestral throne from the Mughal's. Sher Khan Sur was on the look-out to lead the Afghans into a powerful community. Nursrat Shah of Bengal actively supported the Afghan cause. Alam Khan was a refugee at the court of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Humayun's most formidable rivals were his own nearest relatives. His brothers Kamran, Askari and Hindal were his enemies. Babar did not establish a good system of administration. He had taken no steps to win over his new subjects who looked upon the Mughals as unwelcome foreigners. A financial crisis had developed. Humayun's external rivals were the king of Bengal and the king of Gujarat. Humayun did not possess soldierly talent were the king of Bengal and the king of Gujarat. Humayun did not possess soldierly talent of a Sikh order, diplomatic skill and political wisdom. He could not face any situation with courage and equanimity. He was devoid of military genius and strength of will. As

Check Your Progress Questions

4. Define the Babar's Memories

5. Give an account of the Humayun achievements?

6. Discuss the restoration of Humayun?

king he was a failure. Thus Humayun had is own difficulty and he proved to be his own enemy.

Humayun divided the empire among his brother and cousins. Sulaiman Mirza was confirmed in Badakshan. Hindal got Mewar with its capital at Alwar. Askari was given Sambhal. Kamaran was given the Punjab and district of Hissar Firuza. Thus Humayun lost the best recruiting ground for his army. Within six months of his accession, Humayun proceeded to besiege the fortress of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. He made peace with the Raja, received a huge indemnity from the latter and proceeded hurriedly to deal with the Afghans menace in the east. The Raja who was a sympathiser of the Afghans could not be beaten and Humayun did not realize his object. Mahmud had attacked Jaunpur which was held by Junard Barlas younger brother of the Prime Minister Khalifa and Junaid had retreated. Humayun defeated the Afghans at Dauhria. He besieged the fortress of Chunar held by Sher Khan. Without completing the siege, Humayun accepted the perfunctory submission of Sher Khan and returned to Agra. He wasted the next year and a half in feasts and festivitites at Agra, and Delhi. He thus gave time to Bahadur Shah to add his territory and power. Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Muhammad Sultan Mirza broke out into rebellion in 1534. They were defeated. Muhammad zaman Mirza escapted from captivity to the court of Bahadur shah, who refused to hand him over to Humayun. A number of Afghan nobles had taken shelter under Bahadur Shah, who had captured a number of places in Central India. Humayun sent his brothers, Askari and Hindal against Tatar Khan, the son of alam Khan Lodi. They recovered the fortress of Bayana and killed him.

Humayun personally proceeded to Gujarat, while Bahadur Shah was besieging Chitor. Rani Karnavati appealed to Humayun for assistance but Humayun would not attack a fellow muslim when he was engaged against a non-muslim. Thus, he lost a splendid opportunity of winning the Rajput sympathy and support. As a consequence of this, Chitor fell. Humayun moved to Mandasor, sixty miles from Chitor, Bahadur Shah listened to the advice of his treacherous general, Rumi Khan and took defensive position. He fled and took shelter in the fort Mandu. Humayun pursued him to Mandu and besieged the fort. Bahadur escaped to Champaneer, about 28 miles from Baroda. Humayun occupied Malwa and then proceeded to Champaneer. Bahadur Shah turned to Cambay and escaped to Diu from Cambay, Humayun returned to Champaneer and laid siege to the fort. He captured the fort by a stratagem and got great booty. He wasted several weeks in merriment and pleasure. He sent Askari to counter the moves of Bahadur Shah in Gujarat. Humayun advanced to the support of his brother and captured Ahmedabad. Askari was made governor of Gujarat. Humayun returned to mandu. Bahadur Shah secured enough support in Gujarat. Askari fled from that place and moved towards Agra. Bahadur Shah regained Ahmedabad and proceeded to Champaneer, Gujarat was lost. Humayun started towards Agra. Malwa was lost to Mallu Khan, an officer in the service of the former kings of that provincial kingdom.

1.6.1. Humayun and Sher Khan

Humayun forgave Askari. Muhammed Sultan Mirza was defeated by Hindal and driven to Bengal. Humayun stayed in Agra for a year. Sher Khan, though he had submitted to Humayun in 1532, had not sent any tribute to Delhi. He had consolidated his position in South Bihar and had also defeated the king of Bengal in two engagements. Thus, he had considerably added to his resources and prestige. Humayun wasted one full year at Agra meditating the recovery of Gujarat and Malwa. He proceeded to Jhunagarh. He besieged the fortress of Jhunargarh which Sher Khan had acquired through his marriage with Lady Mallika, widow of Tajkhan. After a siege of six months. Humayun captured Jhunargarh. By this time Sher Khan had moved into Bengal and almost conquered it. He had transferred most of his treasures from Gaur to Rohtas. Humayun proceeded to Benares and stayed there for some time. Sher Khan had not openly opposed the Maghals. He was in favour of giving Bihar to the Mughals and remaining a Mughal vassal in Bengal; but Humayun wavered between peace with Sher Khan and conquest of Bengal. Eventually, he decided in favour of the latter.

The king of Bengal, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud appeared to Humayun for assistance. His capital Gaur fell into Sher Khan's hands. The king of Bengal fled to Humayun's camp and appealed for help. Humayun took pity on him and proceeded towards Gaur. The ex-king Mahmud died of his wounds at kolgaon. Humayun reached Teliagarhi Pass. The road had been blocked by Jalalkhan, the son of Sherkhan. After Sher Khan had transferred the treasures to Rohtas from Gaur, Jalalkhan abandoned the defence of the Pass. Humayun entered Bengal and reached Gaur. He found the place desolate, yet he renamed it Janatabad (abode of Paradise) and wasted eight months there. There was no communication with Agra or Delhi Hindal has been posted at Turbut. Sher Khan managed to occupy the entire country between Teliagarhi and Kanauj and sambhal. The entire country between the Kasi and the Ganga passed under the control of Sher Khan and Hindal had rushed to Agra with the hope of seizing the throne. The Mughal officers informed Humayun of the happenings. Humayun began his return march towards Patna. At Monghyr, he crossed the Ganges and reached its southern bank, to take the Grand Trunk Road to Agra. He again crossed to the northern bank. He recrossed the river and reached its southern bank at Chausa. His brothers did not help him. The road to Agra had been blocked. Sher Khan made a surprise midnight attack on Humayun's camp and routed him. This was the famous battle of Chausa (1539) Humayun crossed the Ganges with the aid of an inflated. Skin supplied by a water-carrier and escaped to Agra. There was much destruction at Chausa. Sher Khan protected the royal ladies and sent them safely to the Mughal court. He took the title Sher Shah. Kamran wanted to lead the Mughal army. Humayun did not like this. So kamran retruned to his territory. Askari was indifferent. In the meantime, Sher Shah occupied the whole of Bengal. He destroyed the Mughal troops at Gaur. He turned towards Agra and reached Kanauj. Humayun encamped at a distance of three miles from Ganges near Bilgram. The Afghans attacked vigorously. The Mughals occupied Agra and Delhi, Sher Shah reached the Punjab. He would not allow Humayun to remain there. Kamran was treacherous. Kamran obstructed his journey. Hindal deserted him. He could not proceed to Badakshan also. So, he was compelled to proceed to Sindh and join Hindal.

Humayun reached Rahri on the left bank of the Indus. He besieged the island fortress of Bakkar. Then, he abandoned the siege and proceeded to join Hindal at Schwan. In Hindal's camp he saw Hamida Begam the daughter of Hindal's teacher Mir Akbar Jami. Hamida, then a girl of 14, was reluctant to marry the ex-king but the marriage took place on 29 August 1541. Humayun returned to Bakkar, laid siege to Thatta came back to Schwan and once again came to Bakkar, He became desperate and thought of going to Mecca. On an invitation from Maldev of Marwar, he reached Jodhpur but Raja Maldev had changed his mind. So,Humayun gain came to Sindh. He took shelter with Rana Virasala of Amarkot. Akbar was born in Amarkot in 1542. After an abortive expedition to Sindh, Humayun had left for Kandahar. Kamaran, ruler of Kabul tried to obstruct his passage. Humayun left his son in kandahar and fled to Persia. Shah Tahmasp welcomed him. The Shah wanted Humayun to become a Shah. With the Shah's help Humayun defeated Afghanistan and captured Kandahar. He gave it to the Persians. On the death of the Shah, Humayun reoccupied Kandahar and captured Kabul. Kamran fled to Ghazni and from there to Sindh. Humayun fell ill. Kamran took possession of Kabul when Humayun was with his army beyond the Hindukush. On his recovery, Humayun besieged Kabul and recaptured it, in spite of Kamran's threat to infant Akbar's life. Kamran fled, came back and was defeated again. He had to submit Humayun made him governor of the country north of the oxus. In 1549 kamran played false to Humayun and occupied Kabul. He was defeated, and He was captured, Humyun ordered him to be blinded. Kamran later went to Mecca and died there. Askari also was sent to Mecca. Hindal had fallen a victim to a fellow Afghan's sword. Thus Humayun was free from his dangerous rivals who had been an important cause of his expulsion and misery.

1.6.2. Restoration of Humayun

Sher Shah died in 1545. He was succeeded by his son islam Shah. The latter died prematurely in 1553. His twelve-years-old son. Firoz was done to death by his maternal uncle mubariz Khan, took the title, Muhammed Adil Shah. Adil Shah was in Chunar and the administration was in the hands of Hemu, his Hindu minister. Mohammed Adil Shah's death. Humayun left Kabul and reached Lahore. He was joined by Bairamkhan. He reached Kalanur in the Gurdaspur district in East Punjab. Lahore was occupied and then Dipalpur. Bairamkhan proceeded to Machcoiwara on the sutlej. At a tough battle, there was a bloody conflict near Sirhind in June, 1555. The Afghans were defeated. Sikandar fled to Mankot. Humayun advanced to Delhi and occupied the throne. His son had been designated governor of the Punjab and sent against Sikander Shah. Arrangements were made for the occupation of Agra and adjoining district. Many disaffected chiefs mostly Afgans, had to be subdued. He put down the chiefs and restored Mughal authority. He did nothing to revive Sher Shah's grand administration. He lost his life in an accident in the palace an 26th January, 1556. His son Akbar succeeded him.

Humayun was a dutiful son, an indulgent brother, a loving husband and an affectionate father. However, as a scholar, Humayun was not so exact and precise as Babar, - 'a little careless in spelling and style and seems to have been also found of rhetorical and ambiguous language. He was a sincere Muslim, free from sectarian bigotry. He bore no ill-will towards the Shahs: but he was hostile towards the Hindus. He was neither a bad soldier nor a good general. He was not good administrator or a ruler. He lacked a sense of responsibility. "His sin was his indolence and his habit of falling into sloth and pleasures at intervals" (A.L. Srivastava). Next to it, were his indecision and lack of balance and proportion. He was a very unlucky monarch. Lane Poole says: "He was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium eaters' paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished; light hearted and sociable he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. As king he was a failure. His name means fortunate but never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled"... His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling. Humayun was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life and tumbled out of it' He was luckly for having Akbar as his son. By conquering most parts of the Continent of India and giving it one of the best systems of administration then known to the world, Akbar perpetuated the name of Humayun and of Mughal dynasty in the land.

1.7. SHER SHAH SUR (1540 -1545)

Between the flight of Humayun from India in 1540 A.D. and his return to India in 1555 A.D., there was an interlude of Afghan rule in India for fifteen years. The sur dynasty ruled the country during that period. It was the last time that Afghan dynasty sat on the throne of Delhi and ruled over Northern India from that central town. The dynasty revived and reformed the old system of administration in the country and gave her peace, order and prosperity. This was the priceless legacy of Humayun's successors.

Sher Shah was a man of humble origin. His original name was Farid. He was the grandson of Ibrahim Sur, a native of Peshawar on the Gomal. Ibrahim was a horse trader as he could not succeed in his business, he and his son Hasan entered the service of some jagirdars in the Punjab. It was here that Farid was born in 1472 A.D. (Some authors fix the date as 1486 A.D. Some time after Farid's birth Ibrahim and Hasan took up service under Jamal Khan Saranghani of Hissar and Umar Khan Sarawani' the Khan-i-alam respectively. Later, Hasan went over to the service of Jamal Kahn. When Jamal was transferred to Jaunpur by Sikkandar Lodi, he conferred the jagir of the paraganas of Sasaram, Khawaspur and Tanda on Hasan who had come over to Bihar, along with his new master. Farid spent his early years at Sasaram on the river sone. Hasan had married four wives. He had eight sons. Farid and Nizam by his first wife and Sulaiman Ahmad by the youngest wife. As Hasan was under the influence of his youngest wife, Farid's boyhood was not at all happy. He was neglected by his father and his step mother was jealous of him. At the age of 22, Farid left Sasaram, went to Jaunpur and studied Arabic and Persian.

Jamal Khan effected a reconciliation between father and son and persuaded Hasan to appoint Farid, manager of his (Hasan's) Jagir. For twenty-one years, Farid managed his father's Jagir. He suppressed the rebellious zamindars kept the civil and military officials under strict control and gave peace to the people. His chief work was the establishment of a good revenue system based on the measurement and classification of the land and the ascertainment of its actual produce. He protected the interests of peasants and punished unscrupulous revenue officials. His aim was to administer justice to all. The unruly Afghan soldiers were dealt with severely. He became again the victim of his step-mother's jealousy. He was driven away from his father's jagir in 1518. Farid sought the help of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi but in vain. Soon after Hasan's death, the Sultan conferred his ancestral Jagirs on him. Farid came to Sasaram with the royal firman in 1521. Sulaiman his step-brother claimed the jagir. A proposal was made to divide the jagir. Farid refused to partition it.He took up service under Bahal Khan Lohani, the ruler of South Bihar and thus secured powerful support. Bahar Khan gave him the title Sher Khan (Tiger slayer). Sher Khan became the deputy governor of South Bihar. He was subjected to the jealousy of the Lohan and other Pathan nobles of South Bihar. They poisoned the mind of Bahar Khan. They said that Sher Khan was siding with Mahmud Lodi who had ambitious designs. Bahar Khan had styled himself as Sultan Muhammed Shah and was waiting to see what would happen. Sher Khan became a fugitive once again His aim was to get back his jagir. He entered the Mughal service under Janaid Barlas.

Now, Sher Khan would see the defects of the Mughal administration and military set up. He left the Mughal service and returned to Bihar. Once again, he became tutor to Jalal Khan. Soon Sultan Muhammed Shah died. Jalal Khan was a minor. Duda Bibi, the widow of the Sultan became the Regent. She made Sher Khan the Deputy Regent. Within one year, there was a setback in his fortunes. Mahamud Lodi appeared in Bihar and all the Afghan nobles joined him. He took over the government of Bihar from the boy Jalal Khan. Sher Khan retired to his jagir Mahmud Lodi. The Afghan force was defeated by Babar on the banks of the

Ghogra. Jalal Khan came back from Bengal and agreed to pay an annual tribute to Babar. Sher Khan was restored to his jagir and he became a Mughal vassal. Duda Bibi once again appointed him guardian of her son and deputy governor of Bihar. The administration and economy of South Bihar situated between Bengal and Delhi had suffered greatly and it had become a theatre of war between Babar and Mahmud Lodi. After Duda Bibi's death, Sher Khan become practically the head of the government of South Bihar. Sher Khan befriended a relative of Nusrat Shah of Bengal. So, the king of Bengal became angry. He invaded South Bihar and was defeated by Sher Khan. The Lohani nobles became jealous of him. They poisoned jalal Khan's mind and turned him against Sher Khan with a plot to murder Sher Khan. Unable to do this, they invited Jalal Khan to Bengal where they took refuge. Sher Khan now became the virtual ruler of South Bihar, but he did not take any titles. He acquired the fort of Chunar. He also acquired the great wealth that buried the fort of Chunar.

He also acquired the great wealth that buried there. The Afghan nobles looked upon him as an upstart in 1530 and they invited Mahmud Lodi to invade South Bihar. In December 1530 Babar died and Humayun succeeded him. On Muhammed Lodi's arrival, Sherkhan went to his jagir. Muhammed Lodi promised to grant him the entire South Bihar if he was successful against Humayun. Sherkhan went to his jagir. Muhammed lodi promised to grant him the entire South Bihar if he was successful against Humayun. Sher Khan unwillingly joined Muhammed Lodi. The latter, led his army successfully towards Agra.

Humayun rushed from Kalinjar and defeated Mahammud Lodi at Dauhria. The Afghans were badly defeated. Mahammud Lodi fled to Orissa to die there in 1542. Sher Khan recovered south Bihar and again became its ruler. Humayun besieged Chunargarh. Sher Khan placed it under his second son Jalal Khan and withdrew into Bihar. When Humayun heard of the activities of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, he lifted the siege and rushed to Gujarat. Sher Khan made a perfunctory submission. He agreed to place a contingent of soldiers under his third son, Kutb Khan for service in the Mughal army. Sher Khan proceeded in 1533 against the new king of Bengal, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud had defeated the Bengal army at Surajgarh. Much slaughter and much loot followed. Bengal was attacked twice, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud appealed to Humayun for help. Humayun now turned his attention towards Sher Khan. He invaded Jhunargarh and captured it. In the meantime, Sher Khan acquired Rohtasgarh. Gaur the capital of the Kingdom of

Bengal fell into the afghan hands. The Mughals occupied Bengal but Sher Khan strengthened his position between Bengal and Kanauj. When Humayun was on his way to Agra from Bengal. Sher Khan made a surprise attack on the Mughal forces and defeated him at Chausa. (1536) Humayun escaped to Agra. Now. Sher Khan styled himself as Sher Shah with the consent of his Afghan nobles. He had expelled the Mughal garrisons from Gaur. His coronation took place at Chausa. At the Battle Bilgram near Kanauj in 1540 he routed the Mughal forces led by Humayun and hence Humayun had to flee from Agra and Delhi. Sher Shah now became the king of Hindustan. He pursued fleeing Humayun upto Lahore. He ordered his men to drive the ex-king away from Hindustan and not to do any harm to him.

He encamped at Khusab for a few months and received the submission of the Baloch chiefs. He partially subdued the Gokkar country, a mountainous region situated between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Indus. He built the fortress of Rohtas 10 miles north of the town of Jhelum. He heard of the rebellion in Bengal and rushed there. He abolished the governorship of Bengal and divided the province into sarkars or districts. Each district was under a Shiqdar who had a small force under his command adequate for maintaining peace and order. The Shiqdars were appointed by the king and were responsible to him alone. A civilian judge known as Qazi Fazilat was appointed to settle disputes. He had to see that all the districts were properly administered that the royal revenues were regularly remitted to the central treasury and that district officers did not enter into any conspiracy. The military character of the provincial administration changed.

In 1542, Sher Shah invaded Malwa and subdued Mallu Khan who later on became Qadir Shah. Then he laid siege to Raisen to punish Paran Mal, son of Rai Silhadi, a Chauhan Rajput who had conquered Chanderi and had reduced many Muslim families to poverty. Sher Shah promised not to do harm to the subjects of Puran Mal but he broke the promise and slaughtered the population of Raisen. Sher Shah's perfidious conduct against Puran Mal is "the deepest blot on his memory". Then, Sher Shah conquered Multan and Sindh. He fought against Raja Maldeva of Jodhpur and gained a victory. He employed questionable methods and the slow dissensions among the Raja's followers and was about to lose the empire of Hindustan for "a handful of miller". Lastly in 1548 he had sieged to Kalinjar in Bundalkhand. Kalinjar had been strongly fortified. During the siege, an ammunition dump caught fire accidentally and Sher Shah who was nearby, was

Check Your Progress Questions :

7 Form an estimate of central admistration of Sher Shah history and his practical experience with the working of the system evolved by the Delhi sultans enabled to derive what was good in the past and to improve and add to it.

burnt. He succumbed to the burns but only after hearing that Kalinjar had been taken by his forces.

1.7.1. Sher Shah's Administration

Sher Shah was a reformer and not an innovator. He created no new ministry; his administrative divisions and sub-division were borrowed from the past and also the titles of his officers. His military reforms were those of Allaud din Khilji. Even his revenue administration was not original and new. But he breathed in a new spirit these old institutions and turned them into instruments of popular good. His empire embraced practically the whole of northern India except Assam. Kashmir and Gujarat. It extended from Sonorgaon in the east to the Gokkar country in north-west. In the north, it was bounded by the Himalayas and in the south by the Vindya Mountains.

1.7.2. Central Administration

Sher Shah was a depot but he was a benevolent despot. All powers were concentrated in his hands. His ministers were only his secretaries. There were only four ministers and some minor officers. (1) The Diwani Wazrat or the Wazir who was the minister in charge of revenue and finance (2) Diwani Arz the army minister (3) Diwani Rasals or Diwani Muhtasib, the foreign minister and (4) Diwani Insha or minister in charge of drafting royal proclamations and dispatches. In addition to these, there were the Diwani Qaza, minister for justice, the Diwani Barid, minister for news gathering and also a Lord High Steward in charge of the Royal household.

1.7.3. Provincial Adminstration

There is dispute whether Sher Shah retained large provinces in his empire or whether he created. Sarkars or districts in the place of the provinces. One view is that he retained some provinces on the frontiers for defence purposes. They were known as jats. They were assigned to important chief. Numerous autonomous Hindu states also had chosen to accept the position status for each province and state. There was a civilian head for each province. The provincial administration under Sher Shah was not so well-organized. The provinces were divided into sarkars or district. There were two chief officers in every Sarkar namely, the Chief Shiqdar or Shiqdari Shiqdarian and the Chief or Munsif-i i-Munsilan. The chief Shiqdar had to maintain law and order. The Chief Munsif was primarily a judge. The Chief Munsif supervised the amins in parganas. In the

Parganas there were a Shiqdar, an Amin or Munsif, one fotadar (treasurer) and two karkuns (writers in every pargana). Besides these there was a qanungo (respository of knowledge about revenue affairs). The fotadar was the treasurer of the pargana. The karkuns kept accounts one in Persian and the other in Hindi. The village officials were the Patwari and Chowkidar. There was a Panchayat consisting of the villages which made arrangements for watch and ward, elementary education, sanitation, irrigation and other matters.

1.7.4. Army

The army consisted mostly of Afghans. There was a permanent standin garmy paid partly by jagir and partly in cash. Competent men were selected and appointed by Sher Shah himself. Horses were branded to prevent their being stolen from the Royal stables. Promotion depended upon merit. The army consisted, chiefly of cavalry. Sher Shah possessed a large part of artillery.

1.7.5. Finance

The income of the State was derived from Central-revenue and State revenue. The sources of central revenue were heirless property, commerce, mint, presents, inheritance, salt, customs jizya (poll-tax) and land revenue. His revenue administration was remarkable. Land was measured according to a uniform system. All cultivable land was divided into three classes good, middle and bad. The produce of each kind of land was ascertained. Then, it was added up and divided by three in order to find out the average of produce per big of land. One third of the produce was the government's share which could be paid in cash or in kind. The state gave patta to the cultivator specifying the state's demand. Sher Shah had great solicitude for the welfare of the peasantry. "Be lenient at the time of assessment; be strict at the time of collection" was his directive. His revenue system was ryotwari, and not zamindari the main items of expenditure were the royal household and the civil and military establishments.

1.7.6. Currency

Sher Shah's next outstanding achievement was in the field of currency reform. At the time of his accession he found many irregularities in the existing currency system. To give one example, coins of all previous reigns, in fact of all ages, were allowed to circulate as legal tender.

Sher Shah next issued a large number of new silver coins known as dams. Both the silver rupee and the copper dam had their halves-quarters, eights and

sixteenths. He abolished all old and mixed metal currency. He fixed a rate between the copper and silver coins. The silver rupee weighed 180 grains of which 175 grains were pure silver. Sher Shah's name and title were engraved on the coins in Arabic characters. Some coins bore his name in Gyoranagiri script also. There were gold coins too. The ratio of exchange between the dam and the rupee was 64 to 1.

Sher Shah is reputed to be a just medieval ruler. There was no separate department of police. The army had to discharge a double duty that of preventing external dangers and of maintaining internal law and order. Roads were very safe for merchants and the public. Sher Shah's authority, Says his historian. Abbas Khan, whether he was absent or present was completely over established the race of Afghans. From the fear either of personal punishment or deprivation of office there was not a creature who dared to act in opposition to his regulation: and if a son of his own, a brother or and of his relations and kin or any chief or minister did anything displeasing to Sher Shah and it got to his knowledge, he would order him to be bound and put to death. All laying aside every bond of friendship or regard, for the sake of the honour of the Afghan name obeyed unhesitatingly his irresistible decrees... ... From the day that Sher Shah was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him. Travellers and wayfarers in Sher Shah's reign had no need to fear in middle of a desert. They set their goods and provisions upon the plain turned out their mules to graze and themselves slept with easy mind and free from care as if at home and the mansabars (for fear that they should suffer and be arrested for mischief that might be fall the travellers) kept watch over them.

1.7.7 Buildings, Roads and Sarais

Sher Shah wanted to establish a centralised administration. This is reflected in his attempt to link the various parts of his empire by an efficient system of roads. Four main Trunk roads (i) from Lahore to Multan were constructed. He built a large number of rest houses or sarais for the travellers. Fruit trees were planted on both sides of the roads. Sher Shah showed religious toleration. Hindus occupied high positions in his army. Toder Mal played a leading role. In the days of Akbar he was originally under his service. Sher Shah's army included a contingent of Rajputs. Sher Shah was a great builder also. He built the famous mausoleum at Sasaram which later became his tomb. It is known for its exquisite architecture and beauty. For purposes of defences he built a

magnificent fort on the Jhelem and named it Rohtagarh. The Purana Quila at Delhi is said to have been built by him and he erected a lofty mosque inside its enclosure, which is considered to be a good example of the Indo-islamic architecture. However, the best example of the Indo-Islamic architecture. However the best example of the indo – Islamic architecture However the best example of Sher Shah's architecture is his own mausoleum at Sasaram in Bihar.

1.7.8 Estimate

Sher Shah was the most remarkable ruler of medieval India. His institutions have give a permanent place in history. Sher Shah, indefatigable industry, devotion to duty, numerous reforms and love of justice have secured for him a place of distinction in Indian History. "The whole of his brief administration" Says Keene, "was based on the principle of union A devout Muslims, he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. The disputes of his own people, he suppressed with all the energy of his nature. He laboured day and night, for he said "It behaves the great to be always active"... ... this farsighted man even after his death and subversion of his dynasty, remained the originator of all that was done by medieval Indian rulers for the good of the people". Although Sher Shah reigned only for six years, yet his rule is one of the more significant Islamic administration in Indian History. His deep knowledge of earlier history and his practical experience with the working of the system evolved by the Delhi Sultans enabled to derive what was good in the past and to improve and add to it. Thus Sher Shah paved the way for the final phase of Muslim administration under Akbar and the latter Mughals. Erskine says thus, "Sher Shah was one of the most extraordinary men whose name appears in the history of India". His biographer Qanungo pays glowing tribute to him in the following words; "Sher Shah was the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghans". Those who plead want of time in the case of Babar will find in Sher Shah's constructive achievements a convincing reputation of their apology for Babar's lack of administrative genius. That introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability. Keene very rightly says thus: " No government not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan". Islam Shah, who succeeded Sher shah in 1545 made an effort to preserve the institutions of his father. But during his rule the old rivalries of the Afghan's revived. When Islam Shah died nine years later, every thing was in confusions. His son, a boy of twelve, was murdered by his uncle Adli Shah who left all real power in the hands of his Hindu Wazir. Hemu- Naturally, rebellions arose, Ibrahim Sur seized Delhi and Agra and Sikandar Sur, another nephew of Sher Shah, took possession, of the Punjab and then drove Ibrahim out of his kingship. In the midst of this confusions, Humayun for once in his life, grasped his opportunity. Descending from Kabul and seizing the Punjab, he defeated sikander at Sirhind, drove him to the Himalayas and took possession of Delhi and Agra.

1.8 LET US SUM UP

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar who defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Paniput in 1526, founded the Mughal empire in India. On account of his precarious position in Central Asia he after crossing the Indus, invaded India five times. The first real expedition took place in 1519 when he captured Bhera, and the fifth was the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat in April 1526.

Panipat was merely the beginning of the Mughal rule and not its real foundation which was laid by Akbar in 1526. Then Babar's eldest son Humayun who succeeded him, inherited, "a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, to structureless, and invertible". Sherkhan, known as Sher Shah Suri, proved to be the most formidiable enemey of Humayun, and after defeating the latter at chausa and Kanaiuj in 1540, completely shattered his prospects.

After his final defeat at the hands of Sher Shah suri, the Mughal empire in India was temporarily eclipsed Shortly after regaining the empire, Humayun died in an accident. Sher Shah was a man of humble origin. He was a reformer and not an innovator.

1.9 KEY WORDS

1. Province	-	Large division of a country
2. Congeries	-	Mass of small body heaped together.
3. Prepetual	-	Held or holding for life.
4. Interregnum	-	Interval between successive reigns.

1.10 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer Section No. 1.2.1.3
For Question No.2	Refer Section No. 1.5.1

For Question No.3	**Refer Section No. 1.5.2**
For Question No.4	**Refer Section No. 1.5.5**
For Question No.5	**Refer Section No. 1.6**
For Question No.6	**Refer Section No. 1.6.2**
For Question No.7	**Refer Section No. 1.7.2**

1.11. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. J.S. Grewal., - Muslim rule in India.

2. J.L. Mehta., - Advanced study in the history of medieval India.

3. M.H. Syed., - History of Muslim in India, Vol.I, III

4. P.N. Chopra, B.N.Puri., - A comprehensive History of Medieval India.

1.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. **What are the significance of the first Battle of Panipat?**
2. **Sketch the career and achievements of Babar?**
3. **Critically evaluate Sher Shah's Administration?**
4. **Give an account of the political and social conditions of India on the eve of**
5. **Babar's conquest?**
6. **"Humayun tumbled through life and tumbled out of it" – comment**
7. **How far can Sher Shah be called the fore runner of Akbar.**

LESSON - 2

AKBAR – CONQUESTS – ADMINISTRATION – RELIGIOUS POLICY - SHAH JAHAN AND AURANGAZAB

Space for Hin

INTRODUCTION

Akbar succeeded his father Humayun in 1556. He expanded his empire. introduced many important reforms and adopted a policy of reconciliation with the Hindus. He was a great patron of art and architecture. Akbar's son Jahangir ruled from 1605 to 1627. He encouraged paintings. His son Shahjehan (1627-1659) was a great builder. His reign is regarded as the golden age of the Mughal period. Aurangazeb (1659-1707) captured the throne in 1659 after a war of succession. His policy towards the Hindus weakened the foundations of the Mughal Empire. The stage was set for the decline and disintegration of the Mughal Empire which was completed within half a century of Aaranga Zeb's death.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the students will able to

a) Understand the Akbar's conquest in India.
b) Analyse the importance of Akbar's religious policy.
c) Trace the development of Jahagiri's Deccan policy.
d) The appreciate the Golden age of the Mughal Rule in India.
e) Sketch the career of Aurangazab.

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Sources
- 2.1.1 Abul Fazl
- 2.1.2 Nizam – ud – din Ahmad
- 2.1.3 Badauni
- 2.1.4 Jauhar, Gulbadan, Ferishta etc
- 2.1.5 Foreign Evidence

2.2 Akbar : His Early Career
- 2.2.1 Condition of India in 1556
- 2.2.2 Second Battle of Panipet (1556)
- 2.2.3 End of the Sur dynasty
- 2.2.4 Dismissal of Bairam Khan (1560)
- 2.2.5 Early reforms

2.3 Expansion Of The Empire
    2.3.1 The ambition of Akbar
    2.3.2 Conquest of Rajputana
    2.3.3 Conquest of Gujarat
    2.3.4. Conquest of Bengal
    2.3.5. Attempt to conquer Mewar
    2.3.6 Conquest of Baluchistan
2.4. Akbar's Deccan Policy
2.5. Akbar's Rajput policy
2.6. Akbar's Religious policy
2.7. Estimate of Akbar
2.8. Jahangir (1605-1627)
    2.8.1 Rebellion of Prince Khusru
    2.8.2 Nur Jahan
    2.8.3 Character of Nur Jahan
    2.8.4 Rebellion of the Afghans.
    2.8.5 Subjugation of Mewar
    2.8.6 The capture of Kangra
    2.8.7 Deccan Policy.
    2.8.8 Affairs in Kandahar
    2.8.9 Last years of Jahangir
    2.8.10 Character of Jahangir
2.9. Shah Jahan (1627-1658)
    2.9.1. The Rebellion in Bundelkhand.
    2.9.2. Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi
    2.9.3. Death of Mumtaz Mahal
    2.9.4. Campaign against the Portugese
    2.9.5. Frontier Policies
    2.9.6. Viceroyalty of Aurangazeb (1653-58)
    2.9.7. Last days of Shah Jahan
2.10 Foreign Travellers and Their impressions.
    2.10.1 William Hawkins.
    2.10.2 Thomas Roe.
    2.10.3 Foreign travellers at the time of Shah Jahan.
2.11. The Golden Age of the Mughal Rule.

- 2.11.1. Justice
- 2.11.2. Financial Administration
- 2.11.3. Art
- 2.11.4. Court
- 2.11.5. Education
- 2.11.6. Literary Development
- 2.11.7. Architecture
- 2.11.8. Painting
- 2.11.9. Criticism

2.12. War of Succession 1657- Aurangazeb

- 2.12.1. His Deccan Policy
- 2.12.2. Dara Shikoh (1615-1659)
- 2.12.3. Shuja
- 2.12.4. Aurangazeb
- 2.12.5. Murad
- 2.12.6 Course of the war
- 2.12.7 End of Dara
- 2.13. Aurangazeb Alamgir (1658-1707)
- 2.13.1 Aurangazeb's religious attitude and policy.

2.14. Reaction Against the New Policy.

- 2.14.1 The Jats.
- 2.14.2 The Bundelas.
- 2.14.3 The Satnamis.
- 2.14.4. The Sikhs
- 2.14.5. The sultanates of the Deccan
- 2.14.6. The Maraths

2.15.The Rajput Wars

- 2.15.1. Rajput Policy of Aurangazeb
- 2.15.2. Fall of Jodhpur
- 2.15.3. The birth of Posthumous son of Jaswant singh.
- 2.15.4. War against Mewar.
- 2.15.5 Rebellion of Prince Akbar

2.16. Aurangazeb's Deccan policy

- 2.16.1. Aurangazeb's war with the Marathas.
- 2.16.2 Results of the Decean policy

2.17. Last days of Aurangazeb.
2.18. Let us Sum Up
2.19. Key words
2.20. Answer for CYP Questions
2.21. Books for Further Reading
2.22. Questions and Exercises

2.1 SOURCES

2.1.1 Abul Fazl

Most of the authorities of the Mughals on their administration belong to the age of Akbar. The greatest and the most famous among them was Abul Fazl who was at once "a poet, essayist, critic, historian and man of letters", His book, **"Ain-i-Akbari"** is a detailed record of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century, compiled about 1595. It gives details about various department of government, the resources of the empire, the revenue system etc. Its originality and unique historical value are indisputable. In the Ain-i-Akbari one may, find the "Happy Sayings" of "Akbar Nama" or autobiography of Abul Fazl. It is a masterly treatment that engaged the attention of its author for seven years. His **'Akbar Nama'** or "History of Akbar" gives the details about Akbar, right from the time of Timur. Its description covers the period from his accession to 1602, the year that witnessed the murder of Abul Fazl at the instance of Prince Salim (later Jahangir). But it is difficult to accept Abul Fazl as a historian in view of the 'gross flattery, suppression of facts and dishonesty,. However, to know the entire details about Akbar, Abul Fazl is a great source.

2.1.2 Nizam-ud-din Ahmad

The **"Tabakat-i-Akbari"** or "Annals of Akbar" of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad gives the record of events upto 1593. He served in the imperial household and subsequently became the Baksh (Military Secretary) of Gujarat. He had great aptitude for historical study. He is, regarded as "the best historian of the period". So far as chronology is concerned, he is less reliable than Abul Fazl. The main defect of the book is its serious omissions.

2.1.3 Badauni

Badauni's work **"Tarikhi - Badauni"** is a general history of the Isiamic world. It also deals with Akbar's reign down to 1595 A.D. He translated Sanskrit works into Persian.He gives his own opinion about the emperor without any discrimination. Howerver, he tries to gives us exaggerated and distorted pictures of events.

2.1.4 Jauhar Gulbadan, Ferishta etc

The "Tarkikh-Humayun" of Jauhar (1587) and the "Humayun nama" of Gulbadan Begam, Babar's daughter, written in the sixteenth century throw light on the early life of Akbar But the "Tarikh-i-Humayun" of Jahuhar is full of exaggerations. The monuments and coins of Akbar illustrate the history of Mughal culture. Ferishta a contemporary of Akbar mainly depended upon Nizam-ud-din. The "Tarikhi-i-Ferishta" cannot be considered to be one of the primary sources of Indo-Mughal history in spite of its importance for the Deccan affairs.

2.1.5 Foreign Evidence

So far as foreign evidence is concerned, the Jesuit contact with Akbar began in 1580 A.D. Three missions had been sent to his court from Goa. The account of the first mission was written in 1582 by a great scholar, Fr. Monserrate. In 1611 Fr.Du Jarric, a French historian, published an account of the Jesuit Mission. The account also included the three missions to the Great Mughal, Akbar. His work throw light on Akbar and his religious activities.

In 1585A.D. Ralph Fitch, an English traveler, visited Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. John Mildenthall, another English man was at Agra from 1603 A.D. to 1606 A.D. The letter written by him in 1606 describes his activities as a merchant and his talks with Akbar on the subject of trade between India and England.

2.2 AKBAR : HIS EARLY CAREER

Jalai-ud-din Muhammad Akbar was born in Sindh at Umarkot in 1542. A.D. The change of fortune separated him from his father till their reunion in 1545 at Kabul where Akbar had been removed from Kandahar. He was looked after by so many nurses, the chief among them was jiji Anaga. Though so many tutors tried to educate him, they could not succeed. Still Akbar took pleasure in having books read him. One his father's death early in 1556 A.D.

Akbar ascended the throne at Kalanur near Amritsar. It is interesting to note that on hearing the news of father's death, his gurardian Bairam Khan took immediate steps to enthrone him on a brick platform improvised for the occasion and proclaimed his accession at Delhi on the 11th February 1556, the very day when Humayun's death was announced.

2.2.1 Condition of India in 1556

Though Akbar secured the throne in 1556, he could not be regarded as on established legitimate sovereign because there were also other claimants to the throne. They were the representatives of his great rival, Sher Shah. As a matter of fact they were the two nephews of Sher Shah. The first one was King Muhammad who was the successor of Islam Shah. Akbar's other rival was Sher Shah's nephew, Sikandar, who was in the Punjab engaged in operation on this own behalf. The principle rival was Hemu, the Prime Minister of Muhammad Shah. Hemu was a Brahmin by birth and a trader by profession. Though he was a man of humble origin an puny, he possessed a soldier's courage and patience. He had won many victories for his master. After the death of Humayun, Hemu was preparing to go to Agra. He advanced through Gwalior and occupied both Agra and Delhi. Tardi Beg, the governor of Dehi was assigned the task of defending Delhi. He offered a feeble resistance and the city fell into the hands of Hemu without any diffculty or bloodshed. Tardi Beg was later on executed by Bairam Khan for having failed in his duty. Hemu, having occupied Delhi, took the bold step of settling himself as an independent ruler and as summed the title of Maharaja Vikramaditya. In this way, Hemu became Akbar's most formidable competitor, besides Muhammad Adil Shan and Sikandar Sur.

2.2.2 Second Battle of Panipat (1556)

The news of the fall of Agra and Delhi alarmed the Mughals. Bairman Khan decided to recover Delhi. Akbar fully agreed with his guardian . Both of them with a huge army proceeded to the historic place of Panipat. Hemu reached the same place from the west. The Mughals fought valiantly, but were about to give way and Hemu seemed to be on the point of winning. But an arrow struck Hemu. His army presumed that its leader was dead, it was seized with panic and driven in all dirctons. Hemu was brought before Akbar. Bairam Khan wanted Akbar to kill Hemu, but Akbar refused to do so and observed that in was unchivalrous to kill a defenceless enemy. There upon, Bairam Khan himself thrust his sword into Hemu's body and killed him.

The Second Battle of Panipat stabilized Akbar's position on North-Western India. The Afhan pretensions to the sovereignty of India were gone once for all. The battle of 1556 ultimately prepared the way for thee restoration of the Mughals in India and the way for the re-establishment of the Mughal Empire which had been established by his grand father and lot by his father.

Check Your Progress Questions

1. What are the sources of the Akbar's period?

2. Mention the significance of the second Battle of Pauipat (1556)

2.2.3 End of the Sur dynasty

Immediate steps were taken by Akbar and Bairam Khan to complete the operations against Sikandar Sur, who was compelled to surrender in May 1557. Muhammad Adil Shah, the next Sur claimant was killed in a conflict with the King of Bengal. Thus within a short time after the Second Battle of Panipat, there remained no Sur rival to contest Akbar's claim to the sovereignty of Hindustan.

2.2.4 Dismissal of Bairam Khan (1560)

As early as in 1560, Akbar, then in his eighteenth, began to feel that his Shiah general Bairam Khan could no longer discharge his duty well. Akbar developed this prejudice at the instance of his mother, Hamida Begam and his foster mother, Mahim Anaga, In the spring of 1560 he dismissed Bairam Khan from office and took the entire administration under his control. In the words of Ishwari Prasad, "The fall of bairam Khan is one of the most interesting episodes in the early history of Akbar's reign". Thereafter, Bairam Khan proceeded to Mecca and on the way to the Holy place he was murdered in January 1561 by a Lohani Afghan, whose father had been killed by the Mughal troops under the command of Bairam Khan.

2.2.5 Early Reforms

Akbar passed certain reforms at the very beginning of his reign. Early in 1562, orders were issued forbidding the practice of enslaving the prisoners of war. In 1563, orders were passed for the abolition of the pilgrims tax throughout his kingdom. Usually this tax was levied upon the pilgrims who visited Hindu holy places. The Jizaya was also abolished in 1564. These measures enabled Akbar to gain the active collaboration of the fighting classes of Hindu India and the good will of the Hindu population.

2.3 EXPANSION OF THE EMPIRE

2.3.1 The ambition of Akbar

Akbar's sole aim was invade North-Western and Central India. Later, it was follwed by the conquest of the west, east and south, "Akbar was a man of strong imperial instinct and wished to make himself the supreme ruler of Hindustan" (Ishwari Prasad). Therefore he followed a policy of conquest for the expansion of his empire for nearly forty years until 1601 when the mighty fortress of Asirgah fell.

Akbar fully knew that me acquisition of the leading fortresses was essential for having a strong footing over upper India. Gwalior, Chunar and Mathura had been occupied previously in his reign. The he turned against Mewar whose chief did not oblige.

2.3.2 Conquest of Rajputana

In September, 1567 Akbar resolved on the most famous and interesting military enterprises of the siege and capture of Chitor. The reasons for the undertaking are variously stated – the Rana, Udai Singh had given shelter to Tez Bahadur after his flight from Malwa, he had assisted the rebellious Mirzas; he had not come forward like the ruler of Amber to offer his submission. The reigning king in Chitor at that time was Udai Singh, He was not only a coward but also unworthy of his noble ancestry.

The siege of Chitor lasted from October 20, 1567 to February 23, 1568. The fortress ultimately fell for the third and the last time. The fall of Chitor was followed by the surrender of Ranthambhor, Kalinjar, Jaisalmir, Biklanir and Jothpur. By the end of 1570, the whole of Rajputana, except Mewar recognised the overlordship of Akbar.

2.3.3 Conquest of Gujarat

The rich provinces of Gujarat had been won and lost by Humayun. Akbar could therefore putforth some legitimate claim for its reconquest. In 1572, he marched against Gujarat. After a feeble battle its capital Ahmadabad fell. The conquest of Gujarat secured for the Mughal Empire. Free access to the sea and brought into contact with the Portuguese. Akbar reorganized the province and entrusted Raja Todar Mal with the management of the finances which was in a state of disorder for a long time. The latter made a land survey and reorganized the entire revenue system. This good work yielded more than five million rupees annually to the emperor's private treasury. Gujarat remained under the government of the imperial viceroys until Ahmadabad was taken by the Marathas.

2.3.4 Conquest of Bengal

Akbar was now free to turn his attention towards Bengal. Its ruler Daud Khan was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar and in this way Bengal was made an integral part of the empire. The conquest of Bengal made him the sovereign of the most valuable regions of India extending from the Himalayas to the Narmada.

2.3.5 Attempt to Conquer Mewar

Although Chitor, the capital of Rajputana had been occupied in 1568, a major portion of that kingdom remained under Rana Udai Singh. His courageous son, Rana Pratap Singh, put forward a stiff resistance to the Mughals when they again made attempt to capture Mewar. On his part, Akbar was equally determined to capture the remaining part of Mewar from the valiant Rana. The battle took place at Haldi Ghat where both sides suffered heavy losses. Rana Pratap Singh could not be easily defeated. Though Pratap Singh was reduced to starvation he did not lose heart.

Finally all attempts by Akbar to reduce the Rana failed Rana pratap Singh died in 1567 He was succeeded by his son Rana, Amar Singh, Although Akbar organized many expeditions against Amar singh, Mewar could not be conquered and annexed.

2.3.6 Conquest of Baluchistan

Baluchistan was the only principality in Northern India that had not yet acknowledged Akbar's authority. Akbar sent an expedition against Baluchistan in 1595 and brought it within his empire. Kandahar was also brought under his empire in the same year. Kabul. Governed by his brother Hakim Mirza, became part of the empire in 1585. Kashmir was easily subdued in 1586. Sindh was conquered in 1585 and Orissa in 1592. Akbar gave a system of a good administration to his conquered territories. As soon as a province was reduced to submission, immediately steps were taken to enforce law and order and to appoint civil officers to carry out a revenue settlement and classification of the land Akbar also extended religious toleration to all his newly conquered places.

2.4 AKBAR'S DECCAN POLICY

Till now Akbar's conquests were confined to Northern India. Akbar was a determined imperialist and so could not resist the temptation of invading the south. His object in conquering the Deccan was two folded. First, he wanted to bring under his control the whole of India and secondly, he wanted through his hold on the Deccan to push the Portugese back to the sea as he considered them as the enemies of his empire. Thus Akbar's Deccan policy was purely imperialistic in origin and outlook. In the words of R.C. Majumdar, "It was not influenced in the least by religious considerations as was the case, to a certain extent with Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb".

Akbar first sought to bring the Deccan Sultans under his control b diplomatic missions But in 1593, the ambassadors whom king had dispatched to the Deccan returned communicating that all the kings had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection.

Prince Murad received order from his father. Akbar to march into the Deccan. "He gladly embraced the proposal and moved with great expedition to the south". Ahmadnagar was the first one to be attacked. The time was factorable as the country was torn by internal disputes. The imperial army under Prince Murad and khan-khanan besieged Ahmadnagar in 1593. Chand Bibi a princess of the royal house, gallantly resisted the attack. Finally the invaders negotiated for a peace with Chand Bibi by which Bidar was given to the Mughals. But sooner Chand Bibi was deposed by her enemies and the treaty was violated. The city of Ahmadnagar easily fell into the hands of the Mughals. Chand Bibi. the only capable leader was either murdered or imprisoned.

Akbar's operations in the Deccan ended with the capture of the strong fortress Asirgarh in Khandesh. Akbar, crossing the Narmada in the middle of 1599 occupied Burhanpur, the capital of khandesh and laid siege to Asirgarh. The fortress offered tough resistance for more than ten months. Finally the capture of Asirgarth in 1601 completed Akbar's policy of expansion which had begun in 1558. Akbar returned to the city of Agra in triumph in the year 1602, assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan in addition to his other titles.

2.5. AKBAR'S RAJPUT POLICY

Being a real statesman, Akbar realized that to make the Mughal Empire strong and everlasting he should unite together various forces that were found within his empire. Hence he wanted to enlist the sympathy and support of the Rajputs who formed the military aristocracy of the Hindus. Aknar tried to bring about a lasting union between the Rajputs and Mughals by marriage. "Akbar was the first Muslim ruler in India to realize the fact that there could be no Indian Empire without the Rajput and social or political synthesis without the intelligent and active co-operation" (S.R. Sharma). He married the daughter of Raja Bihari Mall of Amber and appointed him as well as his son, Bhagavan Das to high military command. This marriage alliance with Rajput as the trust he had in them destroyed the opposition of Rajputs and enabled them to be the faithful sevant of the Mughals. In the words of Eswari Prasad. "It symbolized the dawn of a new era

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Critically evaluate Akbar's religious policy?

4. Write a short an Nur Jahan.

5. Explain Sir Thomas Roe.

in Indian politics; it gave the country a lint of remarkable sovereigns; It secured to the four generation of Mughal Empire, the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that Madieval India Produced".

Their (Rajput) co-operation not only gave security and permanence to the Mughal rule but also brought about an unprecedented economic prosperity and cultural renaissance in the country and a synthesis of the Hindu and Muslim cultures which is a priceless legacy of the Mughal rule". (A.L. Srivastave)

But, although conciliatory to the Rajputs, Akbar would not tolerate their political independence. He waged war against those of the Rajput States which refused to recognize his overlordship.

2.6 AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Of all the aspects of Akbar's life and reign, few have excited more interest than his attitude towards religion. Akbar tried to cement the differences between the two main sections of his people, Hindus and Muslims, by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world. Akbar rightly considered " It was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves --- we ought, therefore to bring them into one, but in such fashion that they should be are and all with the great advantage of not losing what is good in anyone religion, while gaining what is better in another. In what way honour would be rendered to God, peace would given to the people, and security to the Empire".

Akbar's religious views underwent a process of evolution resulting in the declaration of a new religion called Divine Monotheism or Divine Faith. (Din-i-llahi). Akbar was brought up as an orthodox Sunni Musalman; but early in his life he was greatly influenced by the mysticism of the Sufi doctrines and his views grew more and more Catholic and he became eclectic drawing one's philosophy from different schools in religion, seeing good in almost every form of worship. He invited learned scholars of various denominations to his lbadat Khana, the Hall of Worship at Fatehpur Sikri. Debates were held every Thursday night and often lasted on till Friday noon. But the petty quarrels of the Muslim saints gave no satisfaction to Akbar's genuinely thirsty soul. Akbar therefore turned for enlightenment to Parsees, Jains. Christians and Hindus.

As a result of the various influences brought to bear upon his mind. Akbar came to the rigid orthodoxy of the Sunnis who were bitterly opposed to his tolerant attitude. He explained his difficultes to Shaikh Mubarak, father of Faizi and Abdul Fazl. In 1579, in violation of the established usage, he displaced the regular preacher at the mosque at Fatehpur-Sikri and himself mounting the pulpit, conducted the divine worship. Later in the same year, he caused a document to be promulgated setting forth the decree of imperial infallibility. This so called infallibility extended Akbar's supremacy and made him "Pope as well as King".

The final stage in the evolution of his religious views was reached in 1582 when he promulgated a new religion, the Din-i-llahi or Divine Faith.

The Din-i-llahi was not a religion but a socio religious order and brotherhood designed to cement different communities in the land. It was based on the principle of universal toleration and comprised the good points of all the religions. It rejected wholly the claims of Muhammed to be an inspired prophet, and practically replaced him by the Emperor. Indeed it was a mixture of mysticism, philosophy and nature worship. It believed in the unity of God and some of the important Hindu, Jain and Parsee doctrines found a prominent place in it.

The new religion had a ceremonial of its own. When a person wanted to be a member he to be introduced by Abul Fazi the high priest. Then the man with his turban in hand, put his head at the feet of the emperor. The emperor raised him up placed the turban back on his head. The order had its own salutations which was Allah-hu-Akbar. The members had to give a dinner in their life time as against the old practice of holding a banquet in honour of a dead person. They were required to give a party on the anniversary of their birth and to practice charity. As far as possible they had to abstain from eating meat. They were not to marry old women or minor girls. They were expected to sacrifice property, life, honour and religion in the service of the emperor.

The new religious order had a few thousand members. Historian like V.A. Smith has condemned Akbar for promulgating what he has termed a religion of his own. V.A. Smith went to the length of saying that, "the Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly not of his wisdom", the condemnation is unjust. In the words of A.L. Srivastava, "Akbar's highest political object was the fusion of Hinduism and Islam and the establishment of cultural as well as political unity in the empire. To quote the author again. "the innovation was the outcome of this policy of universal toleration and a brilliant testimony of his national idealism".

It was inevitable that fanatics like Badauni and ardent Portuguese missionaries who entertained the hope of converting Akbar to Christianity but had failed to do so. They should have become thoroughly dissatisfied and found fault with the tolerant king Moreover, it is unfair to hold, merely on the testimony of the bigoted Badauni and the disappointed Jesuit Missionaries that Akbar indulged in the prosecution of Islam in the words of S.R. Sharma, "To cite Badauni in confirmation of the jesuits, is only to call in to prejudiced withnesses instead of one". Moreover Akbar never forced on the people any Act of Supremacy Uniformity. In this connection Havel opines. "Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal characters assailed, his motives impunged, his actions distorted upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination".

Though the Din-llahi had noble idealism it, could not succeed. It was too spiritual for the common people to understand the ideals of Akbar and it was accepted by only a few persons. It perished with Akbar's death.

It is difficult to fix the exact religion of Akbar. Even to his own contemporaries he was a mystic person. In spite of his religious vagaries. Akbar was not a hypocrite as he had often been represented by disappointed missionaries and fanatics of various creeds. To quote Sathianathaier, "the Emperor died as a true child not of any church but of God, and his spiritual greatness is clear not to any theologian but of a religious philosopher of the present century".

2.7 ESTIMATE OF AKBAR

Akbar fell ill and died on October 13, 1605 after a period of fifty one years. Akbar's achievements have deservedly won for him a high place among the greatest monarchs known to history. He proved his worth in different fields of action. He was a fearless soldier and great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. Lane Poole is of the opinion that Akbar was, "the true founder and organizer of the Empire".

Akbar's treatment of the Hindus marks a new epoch in the history of the Muslim rule in India. His grand idea was to place before the country the vision of a homogeneous nation, a nation that would be neither Hindu nor Musalman but Indian. Jawaharlal Nehru has rightly described him as the "Father of Indian Nationalism".

Akbar was interested not only conquering places, but took great care in giving the conquered people a sound and efficient administration. As Edwards and Garrett opine. "His reign witnessed the final transformation for the Mughals from mere military invader, into a permanent dynasty". He was a patron of art and literature. In spite of his illiteracy.

Akbar was delighted in listening to the works of history, theology, philosophy and other subjects. Todar Mal's revenue settlement was the chief glory of his period. Even his critic and the renowned historian, V.A. Smith inclined to remark that, "He was a born king of men with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history".

2.8 JAHANGIR (1605-1627)

A week after Akbar`s death. Prince Salim formally ascended the throne on October 24, 1605 with the title of Jahangir. He was thirty six at that time. In point of character, her presented a strilking contrast to his father against whom he had revolted. He was fond of pleasure and addicted to opium. He had neither the iron will nor the untiring energy of his renowned father. Jahangir was essentially a lover of ease and left state business to be conducted by his wife. Nur Jahan. But he was one of the cultivated gentlemen of the age. He was free from bigotry and was endowed with sound common sense. He was not of an original bent of mind; but he had the wisdom to follow his father's administrative arrangements. About Jahangir. Beni Prasad says, "Abreast of the natural sciences and a remarkable linguist for his station, he was familiar with Persian poetry, Islamic theology, Hindu philosophy and Christian scriptures and was endowed with a fund of geographical knowledge and historical associations". At his father's death, Jahangir inherited an empire which extended from the eastern borders of Persia to the western frontier of Assam and from the Himalayas down to the Godavari.Jahangir began his regin well. Soon after his accession, he tried to "win the hearts of all people" by various measures. He released a large number of prisoners. A general pardon was granted to all those who had venture to oppose his succession. Most of the officials were confirmed in their officers and a set of new regulations was announced. Manufacture and sale of wine were prohibited. Mutilation as a punishment was abolished. Jagirdars were not allowed to impose tax in their estates if it was done for their private gain. Internal movement of goods was made easy by the abolition of many customs posts. Numerous rest houses, mosques, schools and hospitals were created and maintained by the state. Heirless property was used for the benefit of the public, for the maintenance of schools, inns, tanks and wells. Every Tuesday, the Emperor sat in open court and even the poorest man could have access to him. But as R.C. Majumdar and others observe "these measures do not seem to have had very great practical effect.

The few changes that Jahangir effected in the offices of the state were intended to secure him a band of supporters".

2.8.1 Rebellion of Prince Khusru

Soon after Jahangir's accession, the country was troubled by the rebellion of his eldest son Prince Khusru. Prince Khusru's relations with his fatheer had been far from friendly since the closing year of Akbar's reign. Khusru was the most popular prince in the Empire, having many influential supporters like his maternal uncle, Man Singh. Prince Khusru hoped that owing to the strained relations beween Akbar and Prince Salim, the crown would ultimately fall upon him. Raja Man Singh, his materanl uncle, had tried to secure the succession for his nephew, Prince Khusru, setting aside the claims of Prince Salim. Although Jahangir had forgiven Prince Khusru after his coronation, the latter was kept in a state of semi-confinement in the fort of Agra.

In April 6, 1606. Prince Khusru fled from Agra and hurried to the Punjab where he was joined by some of his followers. At Taran Taran, he got the blessings of and also some money from the Sikh Guru Arjun Singh, By the time he reached Lohore, he had raised an army of twelve thousand men. The Governor of Lahore, Dilawar Khan, refused to let the prince enter the town. In the meantime the imperial forces under Jahangir came within striking distance of the place a battle was fought at Bhairowal in which the ill-trained and ill-desciplined forces of Khusru were routed. Khusru escaped and fled to Kabul. But while attempting to cross a river in boats, the rebels were captured by the imperial guards. He was brought before his father in open durbhar with his hands bound and a chain on his leg and was ordered to be imprisoned.

Terrible punishments were given to the supporters of Prince Khusru. Guru Arjun Singh was executed. Prince Khusru suffered in prison till the year 1622 when Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan put him to death. The Sikhs interpreted the execution of their Guru Arjun Singh as an attack on their faith and nourished in them a hostility to the Mughal Emperors. The execution of Guru Arjun Singh made the Sikhs realise the fact that they must arm themselves and fight if they wanted to live. In his context Iswari Prasad speaks thus: Jahangir seems to regard the execution of the holymen, who was the recognized spiritual head of a large section of the people as a trivial matter. But the blood of the martyrs is the cement of the church and Jahangir made a great mistake in treating the Guru like an ordinary culprit.

The Sikh opposition to the Mughal Empire began". The greatness of khusru as a man, particularly, his attachment to his wife who vittuous and devoted to him produced an indelible impression on the people. He was finally buried near Allahabad in a place known as the Khusru Bagh. In latter times, crowds of Muslims visited his tomb and he was severed as a martyr.

2.8.2 Nur Jahan

No incident in Jahangir's reign has attracted so much attention as his marriage with Nur Jahan who, for full fifteen years, ruled over not only the Emperor, but his empire as well. Many fascinating stories exist in regard to her early life: but sober history records the following facts about her. Nur Jahn originally known as mihr-un-Nisa ("Sun of womankind") was the daughter of Iltimad-ud-daulah Ghiyas Beg, a cultured Persian who reached the Mughal court in 1577. He entered the Mughal service at the time of Akbar. Being a learned and honest man, Ghiyas steadily rose from honour to honour. Mihr-un-Nisa was had grown into a charming young girl was given in marriage to a Persian adventurer, Ali Kuli, surnamed Sher Afghan. Jahangir at the beginning of his reign, gave Sher Afghan a jagir in Bengal and sent him there. When Jahangir heard that sher Afghan had grown "insubordinate and disposed to rebellions" he sent in A.D. 1607 the new governor of Bengal to punish him. A fight took place between the two in which both Sher Afghan and the governor of Bengal lost their lives Mihr-un-Nisa was then taken to the court of Jahangir where she joined her father, Ghiyas at the imperial Court. After four years (1611), Mihr-unnnn-Nisa's remarkable beauty caught the King' farseeing eye and so captivated him that he married her and made her his chief queen. The Emperor conferred on his new wife the title of Nur Mahal or "Light of the palace," which was soon changed into Nur jahan or "Light of the World".

2.8.3.Character of Nur Jahan

Nur Jahan was endowed with "a piercing intellect, a versatile temper and sound common sense". With her extraordinary intelligence she could easily understand the complex and intricate problems of State. Even generals and soldiers were amazed at the manner in which she behaved at the time of an emergency. She was extremely beautiful and had a fine taste for Persian literature, poetry and arts. She enhanced the splendour and glory of the Mughal Court. She set the fashions of the age. She had a sound physique. She used to accompany her husband on hunting expeditions.

When Jahangir was imprisioned by Mahabat Khan, she seated herself on an elephant and tried to rescue him without minding the danger to her own life. She was a good administrator who looked even into the minute details of administration. She was also of charitable disposition. She always had the tendency to help the poor and the orphan. She provided money for the marriage of or orphan Muslim girls and extended her protection to the weak and the oppressed. In fact, she was the "asylum for all sufferers". She was a dutiful wife to her husband Jahangir.

Nur Jahan was the ruler herself. All important decisions were made by her. A word from her, could make or mar the career of any one. The highest dignitaries of the State came to her for favours.

If Nur Jahan had virtues, she had her faults also. But Nur Jaha's influence was not all for the good of the state (Ishwari Prasad). She could never tolerate the rise of others lest their rise should weaken her position. This is amply illustrated in the case of Prince Khurram's rebellion in the Deccan. Mahabat Khan was commissioned by her to put down Prince Khurram's rebellion in the Deccan. Mababat Khan became an ideal of his soldiers when he successfully carried out his campaign against Prince Khurram. It was his popularity which created jealousy in the mind of Nur Jahan. She leveled against him false accusations. All this was too much for Mahabat Khan who got Jahangir arrested and made Nur Jahan submit to him for the time being. However, when the control of Mahabat Khan over the Emperor ended, he ran away to the Deccan and joined hands with Prince Khurram who was already in revolt. It cannot be denied that Nur Jahan was responsible for turning Mahabat Khan into an enemy.

It is said that the loss of Khandahar in 1622 was also due to Nur Jahan. When that Place was besieged by the Persians, the Mughal army there sent an urgent appeal to Jahangir for help. Nur Jahan who was at the helm of affairs asked Prince Khurram to head the relief expendition to Khandahar. Prince Khurram flatly refused to do so. There is no denying the fact that the refusal of Khurram was due to Nur-Jahan who was favouring her son-in-law. Shahriyar at the expense of Prince Khurram, Khurram was right in suspecting that in his absence in Khandahar, Shahriyar might be given further promotion and that he himself might be disposed off in the battlefield. It was this fear which forced Khurram to rebel against his father than fight against the Persians and thereby Khandahar was lost to the Mughals. Towards the end of her rule there was wide-spread confusion.

There were plots, intrigues and conspiracies. It was under the influence of Nur Jahan that Jahangir became a professional pleasure seeker, completely unmindful of the duties of state. After the death of Jahangir in 1627, she retired from active service. She passed eighteen long and tedious years in silent sorrow and mouning, In 1645, she died and was buried near the tomb of her husband.

2.8.4. Rebellion of the Afghans

Afghans of Bengal under the leadership of Usman Khan were the enemies of the Mughals. Though Akbar conquered and annexed Bengal, the Afghans had not been completely crushed. When opposition to the Mughals was gaining ground and aggression was crushed, Raja Man Singh, the governor of Bengal and his subordinate officials were somehow inactive. Jahangir therefore transferred Man Singh to Bihar and appointed his foster brother Qutbuddin Khan in his place. This frequent change of governors have opportunities to the Afghans to revolt under the leadership of Usman Khan. It was only during the governorship of Islam Khan whom Jahangir regarded as a "brave and well-disposed, youth" that the rebellions of the Afghans were firmly suppressed. This energetic and capable Mughal governor took prompt action and defeated the rebels after a stiff fight. An arrow shot at close range pierced through the right eye of Usman Khan and killed him. Without the leadership of the gallant chief, the resistance broke up and the Afghan army fled to the great surprise of the Mughals. Jahangir followed a wise and humane policy of conciliation. As a result of the emperor's policy, the Afghans gave up all reasonable designs. They made a point to remain subservient and loyal to the throne even at the sacrifice of their lives.

2.8.5. Subjugation of Mewar

The most remarkable triumph of Mughal imperialism was the subjugation of the leaders of Rajput chivalry. Rana Pratap Singh who had sustained the war of independence with so much vigour and heroism died in 1597. He was followed by his son Rana Amar Singh who was allowed to rule in his place by Akbar. But soon after his accession, Jahangir renewed the war with Mewar, could not be broken and the expediton failed. This was followed by a number of expeditions. Finaly in 1614, Prince Khurram was given the command of strong army against Mewar. Close blockade, ceaseless fighting lack of supplies partly due to famine and disease all combined to break the resistance of the Rajputs. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to carry on the waragainst the might of the Mughal empire. Finally, Rana Amar Singh surrendered to the Mughal army. The

Rana consented treeognized superiority of the Mughal court and to keep a contigent of thousand to serve in the Mughal army however requested to be exempted from personally going to the Court. It was also decided that the Rana should neither protect nor repair the Chittor forts. These proposals were forwarded by Prince Khurram to the Emperor who was too glad to receive them. Jahangir wanted only submission. As Jahangir himself observed, the real point was that as Rana Amar Singh and his father, proud in the strength of their hill country and their abodes had never seen or obeyed any of the Kings of Hundustan, this should be brought about in my reign". Moreover, the affairs of the Deccan were quite unsatisfactory and demanded full attention, which Jahangir could not give as long as the Mewar war continued. The only condition that Jahangir imposed on the Rana was that he should not fortify Chittor.

When Prince Karan (Rana's son) reached the Mughal Court, he was literally overwhelmed with presents from the emperor and Nur Jahan Begam. Karan was enrolled as a mansabdar of 5000. Jahangir also prepared two full sized marble statues of the Rana and his son and placed them in the palace garden at Agra. Thus came to a close the long drawnout struggle between the Mughals and the Rajputs which began in 1526. According to R.P. Tripathi. "Much credit is due to Jahangir who treated the brave descendents, of Mewar with chivalry and offered them generous treatment which contrasts with the vulgarity of their co-relgionists, the Marathas".

2.8.6. The Capture of Kangra

The capture of the fort of Kangra in the hills of North Eastern Punjab was another military achievement of Jahangir. All early attempts of Jahangir proved futile, in 1620, a great army under the command of Princes Khurram besieged the fort. The siege of Kangra went on for weeks, destruction was imminent and no hope of escape was left, the defenders surrendered the fort. Eager to see the scene, Jahangir ordered the slaughter of a bullock at that temple. A mosque was also built within the fort of Kangra.

2.8.7. Deccan policy

Akbar had established his authority over Ahmednagar and thereby driven out the Nizam Shahi dynasty. During the time of Jahangir, Malik Amber, an Abyssinian slave in the service of Ahmednagar, was able to restore the dynasty. In the words of Muhamad Khan, the Mughal court chronicler, "This Malik Amber was a slave but an able man. In warfare in command, in sound judgement, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. History records no other instance of an Abyssinisan slave arriving at such eminence". He reorganized the revenue administration on the model of Todarmal's revenue system and he improved the military strength of the State by employing, the Maratha soldiers and making them experts in guerilla warfare. In 1616, Jahangir appointed Prince Khurram as the commander of the Mughal forces against Ahmadnagar. Prince Khurram forced the enemy to use for peace. Jahangir was immensely pleased with achievement of his son and bestowed on him large presents and the title of "Shah Jahan" "the King of the World".

There was a lot of rejoicing but the fact remains that Ahmednagar was not yet conquered and the power of Malik Amber was not yet crushed. This was only a truce and troubles broke out once again in the Deccan. Malik Amber practically won back all the territories given to the Mughals. Ahmednagar continued to be a source of anxiety and irritation to the Mughal Emperor so long as Malik Amber lived and the problem was solved only after his death in 1628.

2.8.8. Affairs in Kandahar

Kandahar had been annexed to the Mughal Empire by Akbar and it continued to be part of the Mughal Empire throughout the rest of his reign. On account of its strategic importance Kandahar was the bone of contention between India and Persia. Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia, sent a large army in 1621 to capture Kandahar. Jahangir ordered Shah Jahan to proceed to Kandahar. Shah Jahan had his grievances against Nur Jahan who was advocating the cause of her son-in-law. The result was that instead of proceeding to Kandahar, he revolted against the Mughal government. By this time, Kandahar, had fallen into the hands of Shah Abbas. All attempts by Jahangir to recapture Kandahar had failed.

2.8.9. Last years of Jahangir

The health of Jahangir was completely shattered on account of too much of drinking. He had four sons Khusru, Parviz, Khurram and Shahriyar. Khusru was murdered in 1622, Khurram or Shah Jahan was the favourite of Nur Jahan till 1622, but in that year she gave her daughter by Sher Afgan to Shahriyar in marriage and began to favour him. Parviz was supported by Mahabat Khan, one of the most powerful nobles of the Court, and an enemy of Nur Jahan.

The intrigues for power between these parties fill the history of the last fiveyears of Jahahngir's reign. The first to strike a blow for power was Shah Jahan. In 1623, he advanced towards Delhi but was defeated. Then he fled to

Deccan to secure the help of the Sultan. Having failed in this, he proceeded to. Orissa and made himself master of Bengal and Bihar. Again, he was checked and he had to escape to the Deccan. Finding no prospects for success he asked for pardon from Jahangir. In 1626, his rebellion came to an end and he was reconciled to Jahangir. Thus ended the futile rebellion of Shah Jahan with no gain for him but with ample damage to the empire.

Nur Jahan now turned against Mahabat Khan. False charges were leveled against him. Mahabat Khan, in despair, resolved upon bold measures. He caught the Emperor while the latter was in his retreat on the Jhelum and made him a prisoner. However by the tact of Nurjahan, Jahangir was rescued and made to escape. Mahabat Khan was forced to take refuge in the Deccan. Parviz died in 1629 and Mahabat Khan joined Shah Jahan. Jahangir died the next year while returning from Kashmir. On the death of her husband, Nurjahan retired from the court and lived a quite and lonely life. She passed her days in sorrow at Lahore and died on December 8, 1645. She was buried beside her husband in the mausoleum which had been built by her.

2.8.10. Character of Jahangir

Jahangir was an able kind, but ease loving king. He had a broad outlook on religious matters and practiced toleration. He had a genuine desire to be just and he attempted to keep in tact Akbar's system of administration. Jahangir's habit of excessive drinking and his regard for Nur Jahan and her relations, however, produced evil effects. The result was that party factions grew among the nobles, and mutual jealousies and quarrels sprang up which weakened the empire. Jahangir's love of ease also affected the efficiency of the administration.

Jahangir was a patron of arts and literature. It was in his reign that the art of painting reached its highest watermark. New elements were added to architectural decorations, and literature maintained its standard, though only a shade less than that in his father's time.

2.9 SHAN JAHAN (1627-1658)

When Jahangir died in October 1627, his son Shah Jahan was in the Deccan, while Shariyar was at Agra. The other two sons Khusru and Parviz had already died. Prince Shahriyar had a position of advantage because of his mother-in-law, Nur Jahan, whom he fondly hoped, would manage his accession to the throne. But, Shah Jahan's cause was ably served by Asaf Khan who set up on the throne a dummy, Dawar Baksh, a son of Khusru, pending Shah Jahan's arrival.

Shah Jahan hastened with all speed to Agra and by a lavish distribution of gold, won the favour of the army and the nobility. The stop – gap Dawar Bakhs was set aside and Shahriyar was blined Shah Jajan thus ascended the throne (February 1628).

2.9.1 The Rebellion in Bundelkhand

The first events of Shah Jahan's reign were the suppression of a rebellion of the Bundela Rajputs (Rajputs settled in Bundelkhand) and another one of Khan Jahan Lodi – Bir Singh Bundela, the favourite of Jahangir died in 1627. His son and successor Jajhar Singh made encroachments on the Mughal territory and showed signs of rebellion. Shah Jahan sent against him Mughal, Rajput and Bundela commanders and the rebellion was put down with some difficulty. The important forts of Bundelkhand were occupied and the magnificient temple of Orchha was destroyed, While the Bundelas became hostile at heart to the Mughals.

2.9.2 Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi

More formidable than the Bundela rising was the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi, the Mughal General of the Deccan. He entered into an alliance with the ruler of Ahmednagar and revolted and for more than thirty years defied the Mughal empire. After a severe struggle in the Deccan, he was defeated and killed. His failure and death hastened the down fall of the declining Kingdom of Ahmednagar.

2.9.3 Death of Mumtaz Mahal

Chronologically, the next event in the reign of Shah – Jahan was the death of his favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal the daughter of Asaf Khan. She was a woman of extraordinary beauty. She was exceedingly devoted to her husband and bore fourteen children to him. She even followed Shan Jahan during his rebellion and hsared his misfortunes. She died of the pain of child birth in June. Here death was a profound shock to Shah Jahan who according to J.n.Sarkar, "Would have turned fakir for the rest of his life, if kingship were not a sacred charge which no one could lay aside at his pleasure".

She was first buried at Burhanpur and later on her body was removed to Agra. Over the remains of the queen, the bereaved husband built the beautiful Mausoleum, the Taj Mahal. The Taj Mahal is one of the wonders of the world and is a noble monument of conjugal love and fidelity.

Check Your Progress Questions

6. Sketch the career and achievement of Shah Jahan.

7. Form an estimate of Dara Shikoh.

2.9.4 Campaign against the Portuguese

The Portuguese had established themselves near Satgaon in Bengal in 1559 and had gradually strengthened their position by the creation of large fortifications around Hughli. The foreigners did not confine their attention to trade, but practiced piracy and bought and sold children. The Portuguese also seized two slave girls belonging to Mumtaz Mahal, when Shah Jahan was in rebellion against his father and refused to release them. Mumtaz got offended and wanted to punish the Portuguese for their audacity. They also indulged in converting Children to Christianity by force. This added to the resentment against the Portuguese. Shah Jahan accordingly, besieged Hughli and captured it in 1632. Many of the Portuguese were killed and a large number of them were arrested and inhumanly treated.

Shah Jahan like his predecessors was anxious to conquer the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan. He waged wars against them for a number of years. Akbar and Jahangir forced by political motives engaged themselves in their Deccan campaigns. But a change came over Mughal policy in Shan Jahan's time. "As a champion of Sunni orthodoxy, he felt, it is his duty to exterminate the Shia heresy in the south". (Ishwari Prasad). Hencec Shah Jahan's wars in the Deccan were prompted by political and religious motives. His son Aurangazeb followed the same policy on more comprehensive scale. Akbar tried his best, but he could annex only a part of Ahmednagar. Malik Amber during the reign of Jahangir, almost re-established the power of the Nizam Shahis. Towards the closing years of Jahangir's reign, the ruler of Ahmednagar instigated Khan Jahan Lodi to revolt.

As soon as Shah Jahan ascended the throne he made up his mind to annex the whole of the Deccan. After the death of Malik Amber, differences arose between his son Fateh Khan and the ruler of Ahmednagar Sultan Murtaza Nizam. Now Fateh Khan was bribed by the Mughals and with his help, Sultan was put on the throne of Ahmedngar and Fateh Khan became the real power behind the throne.

Fateh Khan was not at all sincere in his friendship with the Mughals. When the Mughals attacked the fort of Daulatabad in 1631, he at first, went against the Mughals but later he was bribed by the Mughals and then he surrended the fort of Daulatabad. Ahmednagar was annexed to the Mughals in 1633. A.D. and the boy king Hussain Shah was sentenced to life long imprisonment in the fort of Gwalior. Thus in 1633, the Nizam-Shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar came to an end. Fateh Khan was rewarded for his help to the Mughals and was taken into the imperial service. Bijapur and Golconda continued to be independent kingdoms during the days of Akbar and Jahangir. The rulers of Bijapur was the powerful Adil Shah. Shan Jahan demanded the submission of both these states. Golconda readily submitted. But, Bijapur refused to do so. With the help of the imperial general, Mahabat Khan, Shah Jahan waged a merciless campaign against Bijapur.

The Sultan of Bijapur finally agreed to the Mughal terms; he promised obedience to the Mughal Emperor and also undertook not to seek the services of the Mughals soldiers in future. Thus, the whole of the Deccan was subdued by the Mughals "Thus after forty years of strife (1595-1636)". Writes J.N. Sarkar, "The affairs of the Deccan were at last settled". The position of the emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined and his suzerainty over the sourthern kingdoms firmly established".

The annexed territories were divided into four provinces namely, Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad. Aurangazeb. Shah Jahan's third son was appointed viceroy over them all. Bijapur recognized the Mughal authority and agreed to submit to the Emperor's arbitration in all its disputes with the friendly Golconda. Aurangazeb followed an aggressive policy of expansion towards these states.

2.9.5 Frontier Polices

Shah Jahan with the help of a large force occupied Balkh and Badakshan to the north of Kabul. In 1647, Aurangzeb was appointed to the command of the two provinces. He, however, Found his position insecure and wisely retreated to Kabul after a dangerous and prolonged, fight with the Uzbegs. As regards Kandahar, we have seen previously as to how the unfortunate Jahangir lost it to the Persian ruler. When Shah Jahan became Emperor. Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian General in charge of Kandahar handed over a part to one of the officers of Shah Jahan and himself entered the service of the Mughal Emperor. This was done by him because of his displeasure with his Governments.

In 1648, the Persians were able to recapture the fort. Two successive expeditions under Aurangazeb to take back the fort from the persions had failed, A third expedition was sent under Prince Dara, the favourite son of Shah Jahan. Prince Dara too could succeed. The failure to recapture the fort of Kandahar proved to be a shame on the part of the Mughals. The prestige of the Mughals was affected. These campaigns caused a heavy drain on the imperial treasury.

2.9.6 Second Deccan Viceroyalty of Aurangazeb (1653 – 58)

After the Kandahar adventure, Aurangazeb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan for the second time. During this time he carried out far reaching revenue reforms in the Deccan. Todar Mal's system of survey and assessment was applied. Amins and Amils were appointed to measure the land, to ascertain the area under cultivation and to distinguish between the arable and waste Lands. Muqaddams were appointed in the Villages to assist in the collection of revenue, and to look after the interests of the peasantry.

Loans were advanced to the cultivators to purchase seed and cattle and they are permitted to repay them by installments. This resulted in increased revenue for the Mughals. A new city was built and was named Aurangabad also tried to put down the semi-independent states of Bijapur and Golconda. With the help of Mir Jumla, the Wazir of Golconda, Aurangazeb besieged Golconda in 1656. Finally the Sultan of Golconda agreed to pay a fine and cede a district. Bijapur was about to be invaded by Aurangazeb, Shah Jahan whose mind had been changed by the persuasions of Bijapur agents and partly by the jealousy entertained by Prince Dara against his younger brother, ordered an immediate peace with Bijapur and thus, the war abruptly, ended without ensuring any conquest for Aurangazeb. In September 1657. Shah Jahan took ill suddenly. This was the signal for a fractricidal war among the four sons of the emperor.

2.9.7 Last Days of Shah Jahan

During the war of Succession, Aurangzeb made Shah Jahan his own father a prisoner in the Agra Fort and the old emperor was confined to the harem with a strict guard to watch over him. For several years, he languished in prison. He died on January 22, 1666. Aurangazeb did not only the moral sense, but also the decorum of the age".

The reign of Shah Jahan was prosperous. The peacock throne and the glitter of jewels dazzled the foreign travelers. The great buildings built by him stand to this day testify to the greatness of the Mughal Empire and the glory of his reign. Shah Jahan was a lover grandeur, pomp and show. But, he was neither a mere pleasure seeker nor a lever of ease and comfort. As prince he had distinguished himself as a man of action. He was dignified in his behavior, thoughtful in his speech and action and fully alive to his duties and responsibilities. As long as his health was good, no one could dare to defy him or dominate over him. It was only when his health failed that the disruptive forces appeared. In religious matters, he was much more orthodox than his father. He sometimes showed instances of religious intolerance. In Banares alone seventy six temples were razed to the grounds. The Emperor had a deep concern for the welfare of his people. According to the French traveler, "Shah Jahan ruled over his people, rather as a father over his family than as a king over his subjects".

2.10 FOREIGN TRAVELLERS AND THEIR IMPRESSIONS :

2.10.1.William Hawkins

During the time of Jahangir, two Englishmen, Captain William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe visited the Emperor bearing letters from king James I of England. Hawkins landed in Surat in August 1608. He had been sent by the newly formed East India Company in order to try and obtain permission to set up a trading stations at Surat. He met with much opposition from the Portuguese who were jealous of the British interference in the Indian Waters. But owing to the plots of the Portuguese, several of the trade concessions granted were withdrawn.

Hawkins had learnt to speak Turkish language while in the Levant. The mother – tongue of the Emperor was Turkish and for his reason they were able to converse without an interpreter. Hawkins became the Emperor's boon companion and was admitted to his drinking bouts which often lasted till late in the night. Hawkin's intimacy with Jahangir gave him unrivalled opportunities for observation.

After his arrival, Hawkins rose to high favour and was made "a commander of 400" with a very handsome salary. He was also given a girl from the royal harem as his wife, to cook his food and to look after him. The Chief object of Hawkins was to obtain the right to trade by establishing a permanent station at Surat, but the Portuguese made use of the Jesuit mission at Agra to stop this and Hawkins left disappointed. The English now threatened to cut the Portuguese trade and pilgrim route to the Red Sea. In 1613, Jahangir issued orders allowing the English to establish a trading station at Surat. In order to further strengthen the newly won trade concessions, the East India Company sent out a very different man as ambassador from king James I to the court of Jahangir in the person of Sir Thomas Roe.

2.10.2 Sir Thomas Roe

Roe was of a very different class from the rough sea captain Hawkins. Educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, a man of good family, a member of

Parliament and always conscious of his own dignity and that of King James I, he was an ideal representative of England. Roe's Chief object was to get permission to possess a permanent station in Gujarat. In the beginning due to various forces of opposition, Roe's mission seemed to fail. However, in the end, granting a factory in Surat. This condition was later removed. A factory was set up in Agra and other at Ahmednagar and Broach with Surat as the Chief station and in control of the others. Roe left India in 1619, having been largely responsible for these concessions obtained under very difficult conditions.

The Diary of Sir Thomas Roe is a very valuable document and is supplemented by an interesting narrative written by his Chaplain Edward Terry. Roe gives a vivid account of the daily routine of the Mughal court during Jahangir's region. Terry points out that Jahangir's character was composed of extreames; Sometimes, he was barbarously cruel and at other times, he seemed to be exceedingly fair and gentle.

Hawkins has given a vivid picture of Jahangir's private life. He has written a lot about the court manners, the condition of the people and the administrative system of the country. He tells us that Jahangir was a heavy drunkard. There were many feasts royal court, the most important was Nauroz. The law of escheat was in vogue. By this, after the death of noble, all his property was taken over by the King. Hawkins has given an explanation for the accumulation of an extraordinary wealth by the Emperor. According to him, the wealth of the Emperor consisted of treasure and jewels of the ancestors, property of the nobles which came by way of escheat money brought into the country by foreign merchants and the possession of land. Hawkins tells us that when the king was in an angry mood terrible results followed. He might order a person to be flayed alive or torn to pieces by elephants or tortured to death in many ways. About his character he says that Jahangir was mixture opposites. On one occasion, he might graciously forgive or intervene to save the life of some innocent person. Jahangir showed himself publicly three times a day to receive petitions of the people and give justice to them. Bribery was very common and local authorities were oppressive. The provincial governors were independent for all practical purposes and there was effective check upon them by the central government. Roe's account of his reception at the Mughal court give an interesting description of the daily routine of the Court. The Emperor sat in the Darbar daily to entertain strangers, to receive petitions, to give commands to see and to be seen.

He came every morning to a window, of audience and showed himself to the common people. At noon, he returned to the court and watched the fight of elephants and wild beasts. Roe also refers to the poverty and misery of the peasantry. The public highways were not safe. Local administration was thoroughly inefficient and corruption prevailed everywhere. Roe was struck by the fact that there was no written law in India and the word of the king was law. The Mughal court observed a lot of pomp and show. Roe also describes the festivities in which the nobles took part.

2.10.3 Foreign travelers at the time of Shah Jahan

At the time of Shah Jahan also, many travelers visited India. Bernier and Tavernier were two Frenchmen and they visited the country practically at the same time. Bernier was a physician and his visit coincided with the struggle that was going on in the country among, the four sons of Shah Jahan. He wrote a book on "The war of succession of 1658". As regards the provincial governors, Bernier says that they were oppressive and ambitious. The people were demoralized and spiritless. The peasantry suffered untold misery. The whole of the administration depended upon the will of the Emperor. He could raise anybody and also pull him down. He also makes mention about the law of escheat in operation. To quote Bernier, the country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court and to large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjugation. No adequate idea can be conveyed of sufferings of the people. The cudgel and the whip compelled them to incessant labour for the benefit of others. "Shah Jahan wanted to earn the title of Shahanshani, Adil, the Just Emperor. Tavernier praises the government of Shah Jahan in these words. "He reigned not so much as a king over his subjects but as a father over his family and children. He excelled other monarchs in good administration and in the order and arrangements and finances as well as the system of justice which was stern". Manucci a native of Venice has given us a lot of information about the king and the people of India. There are many interesting anecdotes in his account. According to him, shah Jahan gave peace prosperity and contentment to his people.

2.11 THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE MUGHAL RULE

The reign of Shah Jahan is usually considered the Golden Age of the Mughal rule. Elphinstone says that it was, "The most prosperous pleasure, never gave up his vigilance over his iternal government and ever known in India".

Shah Jahan, in spite of his love of ease and pleasure, never gave up his vigilance over his iternal government and was judicious in his choice of ministers. The details of Shah Jahan'e daily routine found in contemporary Persian historians refute the view that his life was an unceasing round of pleasures. The routine was strictly adhered to whether in the court or in the camp. He had a strenuous life and he divided his time equally between the government and the sport. Kafi Khan, an outstanding historian of the period says that for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned than could be compared to Shah Jahan.

Mandeslo, a German traveler was in India between 1638 – 39. He says that the city of Agra was at least twice as big as the city of Ispahan, then the greatest city in Persia nor was the prosperity confined to the cities, but extended to remote provinces and country parts. Bernier the French traveler who came to India in 1658 and stayed for 12 years is rather a prejudicial historian. Yet, he speaks very highly of the prosperity of Bengal under Shah Jahan. "Bengal abounds with every necessity of life and it is this abundance that has induced many Portuguese and other Christians driven from the different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile region". Bernier also talks of varieties of valuable commodities like Sugar, Cotton, Silk, Saltpetre, Opium, Wax, etc., found in Bengal. Shah Jahan's reign also, according to him, saw the development of trade between India and West Asia, and the beginning to the export trade with Europe. Bernier writes, " I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton clothes of every sort, fine, and colored, which the Hollanders alone export to different places especially to Europe. The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants also deal in these articles to a considered extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts".

2.11.1 Justice

Wednesday was fixed for the administration of Justice which was very fair but the number of cases were few, at the most about twenty. Raj Bhara in Mal Lupput-Tawariki-Hind remarks, "it was owing to the great solicitude evinced by the King towards the promotion of national, local and general tranquility, that the people, were restrained from committing offences against one another, and breaking the public peace".

The local authorities tried the offences at the place where they were committed. But an appeal was permitted to the Diwan to Kazi of the Suba. If even this did not satisfy, there was an appeal to the Chief Diwand or to the Chief Kazi. The King was the ultimate appellate authority.

2.11.2 Financial Administration

The reign of Shah Jahan was a period of agrarian peace through the condition of the peasants became very bad by the beginning of the next reign. Thus prosperity under Shah Jahan is attributed to the ruler's careful administration which raised the income of the state. Lane-Poole in his contemporary sources gives us a quotation from Raj Bhara Mal, "the means employed by the king in these happy times to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for their welfare, his administration by intelligent and honest, the officers auditing accounts, his care of the crown lands and their tenants and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue together to the prosperity of the empire. The Pargana which had brought in 3 lakhs in Akbar's reign, now yielded 10, though some fell short and those who increased the revenue by careful agriculture were rewarded and vice versa".

According to Moreland in "the Agrarian system of Muslim India". Shah Jahan on his accession put the finances on a sound basis; he reserved tracts, calculated to yield 150 lakhs as income fixed, normal expenditure of 100 lakhs and had thus a large recurring, balance for emergencies. Expenditure rose far above this limit but careful administration raised the reserved income to 300 lakhs in 1647 and to nearly 400 lakhs by the end of the reign", The vast wealth which he spent and the reserves that he accumulated could not have been extorted from a poor peasantry.

Shah Jahan must have had the welfare of agriculturists at heart. When famines visited the country, relief measurers were undertaken . Adbul Hamid Lahori gives us an account of the soup kitchens or alms houses which were established at Burhanpur, Ahmdabad and Surat for the benefit of the poor and also of the distribution of money by the Emperor.

He also talks of the revision of taxes amounting to 70 lakhs of rupees. Similar famine relief measures were undertaken in Kashmir in 1641, and in the Punjab in 1645. There are also at least two instances of construction and repair of irrigation canals to improve agricultural prosperity. A canal was built from the Ravi river and the Jumna canal of Firuz Shah Tughlak was repaired and extended.

2.11.3 Art

Visible indications of this great prosperity and plenty can be seen the costly thanks offering which Shah Jahan sent to the tomb of the Prophet in 1617 namely, a jeweled candle stick of amber covered with the network of gold and ornamented with precious stones and costing 2½ lakh of rupees. The peacock throne was made at a cost of a 100 lakhs of rupees and seven years of labour. In the neighborhood of Delhi was built the fortress of Shah Jahanabad at a cost of sixty lakhs of rupees. The Taj Mahal enshrining the remains of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal cost 917 lakhs of rupees with 20,000 men working for 23 years. Shah Jahan was also responsible for many charities and endowments,

2.11.4 Court

The magnificence of the reign was enhanced by the splendid court that Emperor maintained. The fame of the wealth of India attracted a stream of foreign visitors form across the seas, who were dazzled by the magnificient grandeur of the Emperor and his surroundings. But the court did not exist primarily for the display of magnificent. The show of splendour was only one of its aspects. The other and the more useful side of its activity was the developments and spread of culture among the people. The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interest of the sovereign gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art and literature. Poets, philosophers, scholars all flocked to the court in search of patronage, and were not disappointed, for the king was never slow to recognize merit and rewarded it generously. His example was followed by the courtiers. Many of the courtiers like Ali Mardan Khan, Sadulah khan, Zaffar Khan, Mir Jumla, Jai Singh were men of high literary attainments. It is very unfortunate that no systematic record of their literary attainments are available, except from the stray reference in the contemporary political literature.

2.11.5 Education

The mosques which were endowed by the state were the centres of learning. Schools were mostly founded by individual and private enterprise. Under Jahangir, there was a school in every village. Education was imparted by holy men either free or at a nominal charge. The subjects studied varied they were taught by versatile and gifted teachers. There was no specialization in the modern sense and there was examination. But to have studied under a distinguished professor was regarded as sufficient education.

2.11.6 Literary Development

The national result of his "universal system of education" was the quickening of literary activity. Persian, being the court language, received very great encouragement. There were two distinct schools of writers of Persia, namely, Indo-Persian and the purely Persian. The former was represented by Abul Fazl who standardised his language and style-in Shah Jahan's time. There were many who tried to imitate Fazl's style. The most outstanding were Abdul Hamid Lahori. Mohammed Waris and Chandra Bhah. There was also a large influx of Persian writers and after Fazl. All the poet laureater were Persians.

Shah Jahan's reign partially coincided with what is described as the most brilliant epoch in the development of Hindi literature and language. The Emperor spoke Hindi, found of Hindi-music and patronised Hindi poets. The most important of them being, Sundar Das Chintamani Karindra Acharya. While Hindi was flourishing in the North. Urdu which had it orgin in Eastern Panjab and Western Uttar Pradesh was developing in the Deccan. It has shifted from the north and did not return to its original home till late in the eighteenth century. Bijapur and Golconda in the meantime became centres of Urdu literature.

2.11.7 Architecture

To the popular mind, the glories of Shah jahan's reign are far more vividly depicted by the art and architecture of the period than by its literature.The emperor's entire attention was diverted to architecture. The buildings of his reign stand as a living monument of unsurpassed engineering skill, peace, elegance and grandeur. An ordinary spectator is thrilled by their all-round beauty. These buildings alone are sufficient to immortalise Shah Jahan. The style was the product of the impact of the Mughal on the Indo-Muslim art of India. Besides Shah Jahan understood the science. of architecture well and examined every plan in detail, His character also had a part in shaping the style. He was vain and ambitious. Vanity made him hanker after popular applause while ambition loaded him to achieve the unsurpassable. The buildings of his reign were therefore designed to satisfy the emperor's vanity and ambition.

The crowning beauty of Agra, is the Taj one of the most beautiful building in the world. Havell calls it India's Venus de Milo and remarking that it is a pure ideal conception which belong more to sculpture than to architecture. It is a pure white marble with artistic domes beautifully carved screens and fine inlay work, which defy all description. Nothing like it was built or has ever been conceived in the whole history of Indian architecture. It is a monument conceived in vanity but marked by tenderness, a tribute to an emperor's grief. The beauty and magnificence of Shah Jahan's Delhi palace is unique and unsurpassed in the East. It stands as a great contrast to Shah Jahan's Delhi palace is unique an unsurpassed in the East. It stands as a great as a great contrast to Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri the one a model of masculine vigour, the other the feminine over elaboration. Of all the buildings of Shah Jahan, Perhaps this is the most richly ornamented. The lines of Amir Khusru engraved on the Divani Khas at expresses the idea of the buildings. "Verily if there is a heaven on Earth, it is here, it is here". Outside Delhi the Jumma Masjid of Red-sand stone was meant to be the royal Mosque.

2.11.8 Painting

Shan Jahan continued the traditions of his father in painting. The School of portrait painting flourished under Mohamad Fakirullah Khan, However, in artistic execution there was a decline due to lack of vigour and spontaneity. The productions were more imitative than original. There was also the introduction of elaborate and rich borders without which no portrait was considered complete. There was also over elaboration both in detail and colouring and extravagant use gold to make the pictures brilliant. The allied art of calligraphy was also cultivated. Some of the beautiful manuscripts of the period show the development of this art. The manuscripts were alsc illuminated. Shah Jahan patronised music and took a keen interest in original productions However, the style of Tansen, the famous musician of Akbar's court was varied very little no one was so gifted to do this.

2.11.9 Criticism

There are certain European critics like Vincent A Smith, who feel that Shah Jahan has received from most modern historians and especially from Elphinstone, treatment unduly favorable. Thus magnificence of his court, the extent, and wealth of his era and the unique beauty of his architectural masterpiece, the Taj have combined to dazzle the vision of his modern biographers. Most of whom have passed slightly over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed. Unfortunately, V.A. Smith tries to judge Shah Jahan by modern standards. Besides, he is unable to understand how an ordinary Asiatic despot could be capable of any justice or good administration. These prejudices have marred the value of Smith's criticism. This leads him to say in his Oxford History of India that according to Peter Munday, "the prodigal expenditure and unexampled splendour to the court.... ... . Had therefore a dark back-ground of suffering and nursing seldom exposed to view". But Peter Munday also talks of the gracious kindness and bounty of Shan Jahan which V.A. Smith very conveniently ignores.

Edwards and Garrett more judicious in their criticism, admit the outward prosperity and peace, the apparent plenty and the overflowing treasury of Shah Jahan and also the growth of trade between India and West Asia add Europe. Their criticism that Shah Jahan's reign "sounded the death knell of the empire and its economis system." To Pay his army officials and to put up his architectural monuments he levied a heavy burden on the industrial in the next reign". We have to admit that there is an element of truth in this criticism.

Like his reign, Shah Jahan also remain a paradox. A study of his daily routine shows him as a man of great activity and self control. Yet, there are many scandalous tales of self indulgences and depravity about him. His sense of justice and fairness was very great and yet, he was guilty of excessive cruelty apart form his behaviour towards his father, brothers and relatives. He employed many Hindus in his service, partronised Hindu artists and tolerant towards Christians Nevertheless, at times, he indulged in acts of intolerance and persecution as in the case of Portuguese, and he destroyed Hindu temples. Yet, he prohibited the killing of the cows and other animals in predominantly Hindu districts.

2.12 WAR OF SUCCESSION – AURANGAZEB

2.12.1 His Deccan Policy

Shah Jahan's last days were made highly tragic by the outbreak of a war of succession among his sons. It broke out as soon as he fell ill in September, 1657. The old emperor had to witness the painful drama of a war among his sons. Not only that, he had to spend the remaining 8 years of the life as a prisoner, and as a helpless spectator of the murders of his sons and grandsons. Shah Jahan had four sons, all of mature age at that time – Dara Shikoh aged 43, Shaja aged 41, Aurangazeb aged 39 and Murad aged 33. His daughters Jahanara and Raushanara sided with Dara and Aurangazab respectively. All the princes had experience in civil and military affairs as governors of provinces and commanders of armies. But they were different in personal qualities and capacities. They did not adhere to the principle of the elder ascending the throne. Hence every prince felt himself qualified to press forward his own claim and back it up with military force. "The length of the sword decided the issue of succession".

2.12.2 Dara Shikoh (1615-1659)

Dara Shikoh was a man of “eclectic views, liberal disposition and of scholarly instincts”. He was tolerance by nature. As a keen student of philosophy, mysticism and comparative religion, Data studied the doctrines of the Vedanta, New Testament and the works of Sufi writers. He wanted to be in the good books of the Hindus and in pursuance of this object had married to the daughter of Hindu chief to his son Sulaiman Shukoh. Therefore, he incurred the displeasure of the orthodox members among his co-religionists, who turned against him. But he was not a heretic. He never “discarded the essential dogmas of Islam”. The Prince was friendly to the wicked and hostile to the good. He was also regarded as weak and sentimental.

Dara did not possess the qualities necessary for military and administrative successes. Shah Jahan treated Dara as heir designate though not outwardly and heaped honours upon him almost regal in character. Dara did not possess the nack of judging men. His wealth and influence at the imperial court did not improve his social relations and prestige. He was himself responsible for the emergence of two parties at the courts. (1) the followers and flatterers of Dara and (2) the followers of the Wazir Sadullah Khan. Therefore, if Dara has succeeded his father, the History of Mughal India would have been a different one.

2.12.3 Shuja

Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan, was a man of refined tastes and easy – going habits. But his excessive love of ease and pleasure made him”weak, indolent and negligent, incapable of sustained effort, vigilance and caution”. He was the governor of Bengal. The soft atmosphere of Bengal, “the land of peace, plenty and prosperity”. and given a long rope to his passions and slowly undermined his physical powers.

2.12.4 Aurangazeb

Aurangazeb, the third son of Shah Jahan was ablest of all. He was orthodox and puritanical in his outlook. He was not only a staunch believer in the doctrines of his faith, but he regarded all other doctrines as false or misguided and considered it is solemn duty to suppress them. Hence, he obtained the support of the orthodox Sunnis. A fine writer and an able military leader, Aurangazeb could use both his pen and sword with equal success. His strong determination, will and perseverance were equaled by his insight into human weakness and political craft.

His bravery and courage were tempered with caution and self – control. He could command respect and awe and fear but could not inspire love for he was as cold as steel. In diplomacy and the handling of soldiers, he clearly outmatched all his rivals".

2.12.5 Murad

The fourth and the last Prince Murad, was the governor of Gujarat. He was, no doubt, frank, liberal and brave was addicted to drinking and could not therefore develop the qualities needed for leadership. He knew the little of political world, nor did he care to know it.

2.12.6 Course of the War

The differences in the character of the rival princes did much to influence the course of the strggle. Dara Shikoh, a liaberal man but an ill-qualified, was a poor match for clever and intelligent Aurangazeb. Shuja and Murad had also to suffer for their in competence before the superior generalship and tact of Aurangazeb. The illness of Shah Jahan was so serious, that is suspected by the three brothers that their father had really expired and the news had been suppressed by Dara. Shuja proclaimed himself Emperor at Rajmahal, the then capital of Bengal and marched towards the capital. But on arriving near Benares, he was defeated by an army sent against him under Dara Shikoh's son, Sulaiman Shikoh. Therefore. he was forced to retire to Bengal.

Murad also crowned himself at Ahmadabad. He joined Aurangazeb at Malwa and formed an alliance with him. They entered into an agreement to partition the Empire. The terms of the agreement were (1) one third of the booty would belong to Murad Baksh and two-thirds to Aurangazeb, and (2) after the conquest of the Empire, the Punjab, Afganisthan, Kashmir and Sind would belong to Murad. The combined troops of Aurngazeb and Murad marched towards the north and reached Dharmat (fourteen miles form Ujjain). The Emperor sent Raja jaswant Singh of jodhpur and Qasim Khan to check their advance. The hostile armies met at Dharmat.The imperial forces were defeated . The inferior military tactics of Jaswant Singh as compared with those of Aurangazeb and the jealousy between the Hindu and the Muslim soldiers were the reasons for Dara's failure. The battle of Dharmat immensely added to Aurangazeb's resources and prestige. J.N. Sarkar remarks thus; The hero of the Deccan wars and the victor of Dharmat faced the world with his military reputation rendered absolutely unrivalled in India.

Aurangazeb crossed the Chambal and reached the plain of Samugarh (eight miles from Agra fort). Dara Shikoh advanced with an army of 50,000 soldiers. It was a hotly contested war and both parties fought bravely. The Rajputs under Dara Shikoh fought gallantly. Unfortuntely for Dara Shikoh, his elephant being severely wounded by an arrow, he got down form it and mounted horse "That action". observes Smith, 'settled', the fate of the battle". Finding the 'howdah' of their mater's elephant empty, the surviving troops thought that he has fallen and dispersed from the field in utter confusion. In despair. Dara fled towards Agra leaving his camp and guns to be captured by his enemies, and reached there "in an unspeakable wretched condition."

The defeat of Dara Shikoh was in fact due to some tactical errors on the part of his generals and to the weaker condition of his artillery. The battle of Samugarh practically decided the issue in the succession war among the song of Shah Jahan. Soon after his victory, Aurangazeb marched to Agra and seized the fort, defying all efforts of Shah Jahan for an amicable settlement. Deprived of his throne, Shah Jahan had to suffer most callous treatment. Placed under strict confinement as an ordinary prisoner in the Agra fort, Shah Jahan was denied even the common conveniences. Aurangazeb even stopped the supply of water from the Jumna. From Agra, Aurangazeb started towards Delhi. He halted at Rupnagar near Mathura to crush the opposition of his brother, Murad. The unfortunate prince was imprisoned first in the fort of Salimgarh. Later, he was removed to the fortress of Gwalior and finally he was executed in 1661.

In 1658, Aurangazeb crowned himself Emperor, He next proceeded to deal with his other rivals. The defeat of Dara Shikoh at Dharmat and Samugarh emboldened Shuja to make fresh bid for power. But his hopes were shattered when Aurangazeb defeated him at Khajwah, near Allahabad in 1659, He was chased by Mir Jumla through west Bengal to Dacca and then to Arakan in 1660. Nothing was again heard of Shuja. Aurangazeb's eldest son, Prince Muhammad, having quarrelled with Mir Jumla, joined Shuja, for a time. But he was punished for this with imprisonment and he met with his death about 1676. When fortune went against Dara Shikoh, his son, Sulaiman Shikoh, was also deserted by his governors and soldiers. After fleeing from place to place, Sulaiman Shikoh found refuge with a Hindu Raja of the Garhwal Hills.But arrested by Aurangazeb, his host's son betrayed him into the hands of his enemies in 1660.

The captive prince then in the prime of his youth and singularly handsome was brought in chains before Aurangazeb. In 1662, he was put to death. Dara Shikho's younger son, Siphir Shikoh, and Murad's son, not being considered serious rivals, were married to third and fifth of Aurangazeb's daughters respectively.

2.12.7 End of Dara

Dara Shikoh's end was very sad and pathetic. After the capture of Agra by Aurangazeb and the captivity of Shah Jahan. Dara Shikoh fled from Delhi to Lahore where he busied himself in preparation to encounter the pursuing troops of Aurangazeb. He hoped that rain would delay Aurangazeb's arrival at Lahore. But about month after Dara's arrival at Lahore. his dreaded rival crossed the Sutlej with his army and drove Dara with his family to Multan. The fugitive prince finally reached Gujarat and he was unexpectedly fortunate in being welcomed by its Governor, Shah Nawaz Khan. Dara was encouraged by this and thought of getting the support from the Shiah rules of Bijapur and Golconda. But Jaswant Singh, who had been won over by Aurangazeb gave false hopes to Dara and asked him to march towards Ajmer. Dara could not get the Rajput help. He was forced to fight with Aurangazeb. He entrenched himself in a strong and admirably selected position at the pass of Deoral, south of Ajmer, and fought for three days, 12 to 14th April 1659. But he was ultimately defeated.

Dara was chased from place to place (Rajputana, Cutch and Sindh) by the troops of Aurngazeb under Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan. As he found no asylum in India, he sought shelter with Jiwan Khan, the Afghan chief of Dadar, whom he had saved from the sentence of death passed on him by Shah Jahan. On his way to Dadar, his wife Nadira Begam died. This threw Dara into utter bewilderment and intense grief. Khafi Khan remarks . "Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dara; grief was added to grief sorrow to sorrow, that his mind no longer retained it equilibrium". To add to his misfortune, the faithless Afghan chief betrayed him and handed him over with his two daughters and his second son, Siphir, Shikon to Bahadur Khan who brought the captives to Delhi on 23rd August, 1659. They were paraded throughout the city. To complete his humiliation, Dara was seated in an uncovered howdah on the back of a small female elephant covered with dirt."Exposed to the full blaze of an August sun, he was taken through the scene of his former glory and splendour.

In the bitterness of disgrace, he did not rise his head, nor cast his glance on anyside, but sat like a crushed swag". His tragic plight excited pity in the hearts of the citizens. Bernier, an eye-witness of the scene, writes: The crowd assembled was immense and everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dara in the most touching language ... From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks men, woman and children wailing as if some mighty clamity had happened to themselves". But not a single hand could be raised to rescue the unfortunate prince, as he was encircled by cavalry and archers Then a popular riot directed against the traitor. Malik jawan Khan, broke out on the 30th August. The riot hastened the end of Dara. Whose life could no longer be prolonged by Aurangazeb. His case was placed before the Doctors of Muslim law, who condemned him on a charge of deviation from the Islamic Faith. On 30th August, 1659, Dara was beheaded. His corpse was paraded throughout the city to let the people know that he was no more. The story that his head was sent in a box as a present to Shah Jahan who swooned on opening it, is not well authenticated.

The tale of the fratricidal war is not however new in the history of Mughal Empire in India. Kamran, Askri, Hindal Hakim, Salim. Khusru and Khurram had all been guilty of rebellion against their own ruling house. Humayun had been forced into a fratricidal war because of the treachery of his brothers, Jahangir, out of sheer impatience, has opened a dark chapter in the history of the Mughal Empire for the emulation of his successor. Shah Jahan had secured his throne by the virtual murder of his brothers, Khusru, Parviz Shahriyar and other relations. Aurangazeb was just following the examples of his predecessors. The royal house seemed to believe in the motto. " Kingship knows no kinship" and their challenge was "either crown or coffin".

2.13 AURANGAZEB ALAMGIR (1658 – 1707)

Aurangazeb remarkable reign of fifty years can be naturally divided into two equal parts. During the first part (1653 – 1681), the north remained the centre of interest, while the south figured as a far off and negligible factor. In the second half of the reign, the centre of political gravity shifted from Northern India to the Deccan, where the Emperor went in 1681, with his family, his court and bulk of the army, The administration of the north was consequently neglected plunging the whole of it into disorder and anarchy The emperor was able to crush the Muslim Sultanates of Bijapur and Goloconda, and in his struggle with the nascent nationalism of the Marathas. the issue remained undecided.

Aurangazeb was twice enthroned- one on the 21st July 1658 immediately after his occupation of Agra and again in 1659, after his decisive victories at Khajwah and Deorai. The Khutba was read in his name and he assumed the title of Alamgir (conqueror of the world) with additions of Padshah (Emperor) and Ghazi (Holy warrior).

2.13.1 Aurangazeb's religious attitude and policy

Aurangazeb secured the throne as the champion of Sunni orthodox against the liberal Dara. Hetried to enforce strictly the Quaranic law. He wanted to carry on holy wars (Jihad) against non-Muslim lands (Dar-ul-harb) till they were converted into realms of Islam (Dar-ul-Islam). " His character is that of the Puritan with all its fiery zeal, it ascetic restraint, its curbed impulses, its high ideals, its fanaticism, its morbid distrust of poor human nature and its essential unlovableness. Aurangazeb possessed many great qualities; he practiced all the virtues; but he was lacking in one thing needful in a leader of men, he could not win love. Such a one may administer an Empire, but he cannot rule the hearts of men". (Lane-Poole).

He simplified the customary celebrations on his birthday and coronation day. From the eleventh year of his reign, he discontinued the practice of Jharoka darsan, a practice by which his predecessors appeared every morning on the balcony to accept the salute of the people. He stopped music at court and dismissed the old musicians and singers. But music though banned form the court, could not be "banished from the human soul. The nobles and Amirs continued to enjoy music and the regulation remained dead letter, In the twelth year, the ceremony of weighing the Emperor's body on his birthday against gold, silver and other commodities was given up. Royal astronomers and astrologers were dismissed. In order to avoid the Kalima (Muhammadan Confession of faith) on the coins, he stopped its use. He also abolished the Nawroz (New Year's Day). He appointed Censors of Public Morals (Muhtasibs) to " regulate the life of the people in strict accordance with the Holy Law".

Aurangazeb personally practiced what he sought to enforce on others. His private life was marked by a high standard of morality. He abstained from the common vices of his time. The Muslims venerated him as a "Zinda Pir" or living saint. To 'Promote general morality' he issued a number of regulations. The Emperor also passed strict orders against singing obscene songs, and stopped processions during certain religious festivals. He abolished Sati. But the royal edict remained a pious wish as is clear form the testimony of European travelers like Firuz Tughluq before him. Women were forbidden form visiting the shrines of holy men. In 1679,he imposed the Jizya on Hindus.

Aurangazeb certainly made a mistake in identifying the interests of the state with those of his faith. He began his attack on Hinduism in an insidious way. First, he prohibited, the building of new temples by the infidels. Then, he destroyed many of the Hindu temples, and did not allow the old temples to be repaired. The famous temples thus destroyed were those of Somnath in Kathiawar (rebuilt since Ghazni destroyed it), Viswanath (Benares) and the Dehra of Keshav Rai (Mathura). There was also total demolition of temples in Kuch Bihar, Ujjain, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Golconda, Bijapur and Maharashtra.

The destructions of Hindu temples, re-imposition of the hated jizya,. exaction of heavier duties from Hindus, dismissal of Hindus form imperial services, prohibition against the free exercise of their religious rites-Holi and Divali and prohibition of Hindu fairs, showed the fanaticism of Aurngazeb's religious policy against the Hindus, Despite the fact that Aurangazeb had in him nearly as much Hindu blood as Muslim, he turned out to be a bitter hater of the Hindus. His grand mother (Shah Jahan's mother) was a Hindu. One of aurangazeb's principal queens. Nawab Bai, the mother of successor Bahadur Shah was also Hindu. Of his other wives, one was a Persian Dilras Banu Begum, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, a sction of the ruling house of Persia, the champion of the Shia sect. Akbar's eclecticism was supposed to have started in the harem, but Aurangazeb's fanaticism was certainly not born there. The new regulations and ordinances created a deep impression on the people. His policy generated feeling of discontent among certain sections of the people.

2.14 REACTION AGAINST THE NEW POLICY

2.14.1 The Jats

The first serious out-break of anti-imperial reaction took place among the Jats of Muttra (Mathura) district where the imperial Faujadar Addum-Nabi had oppressed them greatly. In 1669, the sturdy jat peasantry rose under a leader, Gokia Zamindar of Tilpat and killed the Faujdar, There was disorder in the district, and they were suppressed by a strong imperial force under Hassan Ali Khan, the New Faujdar of Muttra. Gokla was put to death, and the members, of his family converted to Islam.

However, the Jats rose again in 1685 under the leadership of Raja Ram and plundered Akbar's tomb at Sikandra in 1688. Raja Ram was defeated and slain and the principal stronghold of the jats was reduced in 1691, Howeve: they soon found a more formidable leader in Churaman who welded the disorganized jats into a strong military power and organized an armed resistance against the Mughals after Aurangazeb's death.

2.14.2 The Bundelas

The second armed protest against Aurangazeb's policy was led by the Bundela prince, Chhatrasal. Chhatrasal's father Champat Raj, had risen against Aurangazeb, but finally, he committed suicide to escaper imprisonment. The discontent of the Hindu population of Bundlekhand and Malwa gave Chhatrasal and opportunity to stand forth as "the champion" of his faith and Bundela liberty by 1671. He gained several victories- over the Mughals, and succeeded in carrying out an independent principality in Eastern Malwa with its capital at Panna. He died in 1731.

2.14.3 The Satnamis

The Satnamis (followers of the True Name of God) were a strange sect with their stronghold at Narool (Patials) State. These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless, carry on agriculture and trade. In the way of their religion, they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good Name". They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. if any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they would not endure it. Many of them had weapons and arms. The immediate cause of rising of the Satnamis was the murder of one of them by a Mughal foot soldier. They occupied Narnol, and when the situation proved to be serious, the Mughal Emperor sent force after force to quell it, but they were all defeated and dispersed. Finally, Rajah Bishan singh. Hamid Khan and others killed several thousands of them and the rest were put to flight. Thus the outbreak was quelled.

2.14.4 The Sikhs

The new imperial policy caused discontent among the Sikhas also. In 1694, Teg Bahadur second son of Har Govind, the sixth Guru was recognized as the spiritual head of the community by most of the Sikhs as their ninth Guru. He settled at Anandpur. He lived for a few months at Patna, where his son, Guru Govind. was born (A.D. 1666). He joined Raja Ram Singh son of Mirza Raja jai

Singh in the Assam war born (1668 A.D.) but soon returned to his original abode at Anandpur . He protested against certain measures of the Emperor and encouraged the Brahmanas of Kashmir to resist these. Therefore, the Mughal Emperor arrested Teg Bahadur and offered him the choice between death and conversion. Teg Bahadur preferred his faith to his life and was executed after five days (A.D. 1675). Thus, he gave his head but not his faith (Sir dia Sarnadia). The martyrdom of the Guru inspired the Sikhs with feelings of revenge against the Mughal Empire. War between the Mughals and the Sikhs became inevitable.

The son and successor of Teg Bahadur, Guru Govind , was one of the most remarkable personalities in Indian history. He set himself to the task of organizing his followers. During his life time he transformed the Sikhs into a military community and called it Khalsa. He fought against some neighbouring hill-princes and Mugha officers with remarkable courage. In 1603, an Afghan fanatic stabbed him to death officers with remarkable courage. In 1603, an Afghan fanatic stabbed him to death.

2.14.5 The Sultanates of the Deccan

Aurangazeb's attitude towards the Shiah Sultanates of the Deccan was influences by religious consideration and imperial interests. The annihilation of the Southern Sultanates was an impolitic step on the part of Aurangazeb. It freed the Maratha chiefs from any fear of local rivalry.

2.14.6 The Marathas

Aurangazib tried to suppress the renascent Maratha power, His attempts were firs crowned with success. In fact by the year 1680, Aurangazab had already reached the zenitt of his power. " All seemed to have been gained by Aurangazeb now, but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end". The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life was now opened. The Mughal empire had become too large to be governed by one mar or from one centre. His enemies rose on all sides; he would defeat, but not crush then forever. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury, Emperor failed to subjugate the Marathas or Conquer their land. They recovered by 1691 and carried on a war of national resistance against the Mughals first under Raja Ram's death in 1700, under his brave widow Tara Bai. If Aurangazeb shared the eclecticism or liberal outlook of his forefathers he would have strengthened of undermining the foundations of the Empire. "For the first time in their history, the Mughals beh..ld a rigid Muslim in their Emperor a king who was prepared to stake his throne for the sake of the faith". A sense of failure, defeat, and despair came over Aurangazeb in his closing years. He had pursued what he considered to be his God appointed task relentlessly and with great risk. He had pursued what he considered to be his God appointed task relentlessly and with great risk. He sought to convert Dar-ul-Harb (land of infidelity into Dar-ul-Islam (and of the pure faith). It was ostensibly for this that he dethroned his father, murdered his brother, exiled his son. Akbar, antagonized the Rajputs. Jats, Sikhs and Marathas; suppressed Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, levied the Jizya, forbade the writing of court chronicles, banished music changed the calendar to the orthodox lunar system, discontinued the 'Nauroz' celebration and anniversary, weightings of the Emperor against gold, silver etc, Some of his measures were really good such as the prohibition of liquor and gambling, forbidding of Sati, banning of obscenities in the celebration of Holi etc. But what enraged large masses of his subject was the total destruction of place of worship, exaction of invidious taxes like the jizya and extra-customs duties from Hindus and their humiliation. These were the acts fanaticism, unworthy of the great genius that Aurangazeb undoubtedly possessed in all other respects. Aurangzeb could easily have become an ornament to the throne, had he not spent his dynamic energy and genius in channels destructive in both himself and the Empire. Instead, he set himself the vain task of becoming Alamgir and was content to be zinda pir (Living saint) to his orthodox Muslim contemporaries. In the opinion of Stanley Lane-Poole "Aurangazeb's life had been a vast failure, indeed, but he had failed grandly ... His glory is for himself alone. To his great empire, his devoted zeal was an unmitigated curse".

2.15 THE RAJPUT WARS

Akbar was the first great Mughals who realized the real importance of the Rajputs who constituted a considerable portion of his empire. Akbar's dealings with the Hindus were not confined only to the abolition of taxes, which pressed them hard. Like Alexander, he tried to bring about a lasting union between the rival sects by the most tender of human relationship namely marriage. He set an example by marrying the princess of Amber in 1562 and married Rajput princesses to a large number of royal personages.

Jahangir, as far as possible tried to follow Akbar's policy of friendly alliance with the Rajputs. Howerver, the Rajputs did not enjoy the same share in public services which they had enjoyed during the time of Akbar. Shah Jahan's policy towards the Hindus in general marked a reaction against the policy towards the Hindus in general marked a reaction against the policy of his grand father, Akbar. Old temples were demolished and the erection of new ones was prohibited. Though he did not follow a policy of systematic persecution of the Hindus, he took earnest efforts to forcibly convert people to Islam. Some Rajputs however, continued to hold high positions during his reign. Maharaj Jaswani Singh of Jodhpur for example, was the premier noble of the empire and Raja Ragunath was the imperial Diwan towards the end of his reign.

2.15.1 Rajput Policy of Aurangazeb

With the accession of Aurangazeb, there took place a definite change for the worse in the Mughal policy towards the Rajputs. Aurangazeb was an orthodox Sunni. Muslim and therefore, he hated the Hindus, especially the Rajputs who were their leaders and shared power with Muslims in the empire. But in the beginning, for fear of opposition, he took no radical steps against them as long as Raja Jai Singh of Amber an Maharaja Jawant Singh of Jodhpur (Marwar) were alive.

2.15.2 Fall of Jodhpur (Marwar)

On December 20, 1678 Jaswant Singh died fighting against Aurangazeb. The King dom of Jothpur (Marwar) was immediately seized by Aurangazeb. It was brought under the Mughal rule. Aurangazeb appointed his own officers to govern Marwar and issued orders to demolish the temples and collect jizya.

Three causes induced the greedy king in seizing the Rajput state. In the first place it occupied a strategic position since it controlled the easiest and shortest military and commercial routes from Delhi to the industrial city of Ahmedabad and the flourishing port of Cambay. In the second place. Aurangazeb hoped that if Marwar was converted into a Muslim state, he could easily attack Mewar whose rulers were haughty. Finally, if Marwar destroyed, Aurangazeb hoped that all opposition to his anti-Hindu policy would disappear. Later, Aurangazeb recognized Indra Singh, the grand nephew of Jaswant Singh, as the Rana of jaswant Singh, as the Rana of Jodhpur on the payment of a “Succession fee”.

2.15.3 The birth of a Posthumous son of Jaswant Singh

But the triumph of Aurangazeb was short-lived. The Rajputs were determined to undo the work of Aurangzeb. The two queens of Jaswant Singh gave birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore in February 1679. One of them died immediately after birth and the other lived to become the future Mahanraja Ajit Singh. Ajit alone with his mother arrived in Delhi in June 1679. Aurangazeb offered him the throne of jodhpur o[illegible]ne condition that Ajit Singh should convert himself to Islam.

This was too much for the Rathors (Rajputs). This proposal shocked the Rajput sense of honour and they swore to defend the honour of the ruling family at any cost. Durgadas, the son of Jaswant Singh's minister now took up the child's cause. He managed to take the boy and his mother from the Mughal custody, substituting a maid servant and her child in the place of the Rani and the prince. Ajit Singh was thus able to reach jodhpur in safely. But Aurangazeb, shrewd as he was, brought up a milkman's infant in his harem and proclaimed that he was the true Ajit Singh.

Aurangazeb gave the boy the name of Muhammad Raj and proclaimed that the protégé of Durgadas was a bogus prince. Indra Singh who had been made ruler of jothpur previously was removed and the state was brought under direct Mughal rule. Jodhpur and the other important towns were looted. Temples were detructed and in their place mosques were built. Although Marwar was formally annexed to the Mughal empire. It could not be regarded as a complete conquest, for the Rajputs continued to harass the Mughal troops in one way or other.

2.15.4 War Against Mewar (Udaipur)

Aurangazeb then turned against Mewar. Its ruler Maharana Raj Singh was asked to pay 'jizya' for his entire state. Knowing fully well the intention of Aurangazeb, Raj Singh refused and took up arms against the Mughals. A huge army under one a Hasan Ali Khan was sent by Aurangazeb to conquer Mughals occupied Chitoor and Udaipur districts in 1680 and destroyed the temples there. Aurangazeb then returned to Ajmer leaving his son Prince Akbar in charge of Chitoor. Taking advantage of this, Rana Singh raised the Mughal outposts and cut off their supplies. Even Prince Akbar's main army was suppressed an defeated with heavy loss. Aurangazeb,. indignant at the failure of his son transferred the command to another son Prine Azam. Now, Aurangazeb planned another invasion of Mewar,

2.15.5 Rebellion of Prince Akbar

Prince Akbar felt insulted and was irritated when he was transferred to Marwar, He entered into reasonable negotiations with the Rajputs to wrest the throne of Delhi from his father. Maharana jai Singh son of Raj Singh, and

Durgadoss promised to give Akbar loyal support if he would seize the throne and save the Mughal empire from destruction by following the wise policy of his forefathers. Akbar agreed to this and rose against his father. A fine Rajput army was put under the command of Prince Akbar and the march on Ajmer began in January 1681. The Emperor who had tender affection for Akbar was stunned to see him march against him at the head of a huge army. He resorted to a stratagem for winning over Akbar to his side. That is, he had a letter written over Akbar, the contents of which congratulated him of trapping the Rajput forces between the Mughal armies. He contrived that the letter should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. The contents of the letter would make anyone believe that prince. Akbar was acting in collaboration with the Emperor so as to betray the Rajputs. They believed the contents of the letter and suspecting foul play, took to their heels, deserting Akbar. The Prince also fled from the play. took to their heels, deserting Akbar. The Prince also fled from the play. The Rajputs realised their folly rather late, but they honourably conducted themselves and stuck to their promise of help to Akbar. He was conducted to the court of Shambhaji, the Maratha king, As he did not get any substantial help form Shambhaji, he fled to Persia where he died in 1704. Aurangazeb continued the war with Mewar and both sides suffered heavy losses. In June 1681, the Maharana and Aurangazeb concluded a treaty. According to this treaty Maharana Jai Singh ceded some parganas to the Emperor in lieu of the Jizya and the Mughal forces withdrew Mewar. The Emperor appointed the Maharana to the Mansab of 5000 and confirmed him in his territory with the title of "Rana". But the war with Marwar however continued for another 30 years. Finally, in 1709, Bahadur Shah, son and successor of Aurangazeb, acknowledged the right of Ajit Singh. Aurangazeb's policy towards the Rajputs was ill-conceived. Some modern writers are of the opinion that if Akbar had not patronized the Rajputs, the Rajput problem would not have arisen. But this view is wrong because if Akbar had not allowed a liberal policy towards the Rajputs, the Mughal rule would not have lasted atleast until Aurangazeb's death in 1707. The reason behind this is that it was impossible for any ruler of Delhi to ignore the Rajputs who were fast regaining their lost position in Indian politics.

2.16 AURANGAZEB'S DECCAN POLICY

The death of Shivaji in 1680 encouraged the Emperor to proceed south and fulfil the mission of his life-the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda. The condition of Bijapur was helpless: the administration was disorganised. In 1685, operations were started against Bijapur. A vigorous Mughal assault led to the capitulation of Adil Shah and the downfall of Bijapur monarchy. Bijapur was annexed in 1686.

'After the fall of Bijapur, Aurangazeb turned his attention to Golconda. The ruler of Golconda was Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626 – 1672). He was a week ruler addicted to sensual pleasure. Therefore, he left the administration in the hands of his favorites, His successor, Abdul Hasan also did not prove better. The affairs of the state were managed by his two Brahmin ministers who outwardly professed loyalty to the Mughals, but were friendly to the Marathas. Golconda was besieged and it fell in 1687. Sultan Abdul Hassan was sent as prisoner to Daulatabad. Golconda was incorporated with the Mughal dominions in 1687 With the fall of Bijapur and Golconda, the Mughal empire reached its greatest extent extending as far as Tanjore in the South. But the annexation of these two states and the extinction of the Sultanates was a political blunder. Bijapur and Golconda in subordinate alliance with the Mughal empire would have stood as a bulwark against the growing Maratha aggression to some degree.

2.16.1 Aurangazeb's War with the Marathas

We can briefly state his dealings with the Marathas who were his strong enemies. During Aurangazeb's absence from the Deccan, Shivaji had decided to conquer Konkan and occupied Kalyan, Bhiwanimandi and Mahuli. The Bijapur government sent Afzal Khan to subdue Shivaji. Shivaji slew him at an interview in 1659. Bijapur sent another General Sidi Jauhar to get rid of Shivaji. At this juncture, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan Shayista Khan, occupied Poona and the fort of Chakan, Shivaji defeated Shayista Khan's army and during the midnight of April 15, 1663. Shivaji surprised Shayista Khan's cam in Poona wounding the Mughal viceroy and killing one of his sons. The Viceroy was recalled and Prince Muazzam and Raj Jai Singh were sent to crush Shivaji. By clever diplomacy Jai Singh forced Shivaji to sign the Treaty of Purandar on 22nd June, 1664. Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to go over to the court of Aurangazeb, where he was a prisoner. However, he managed to escape and reached his quarters in the Deccan.

After the death of Shivaji in 1680. Aurangazeb carried on the struggle against Shambhaji, the son of Shivaji. Shambhaji also, like his father, carried out frequent raids into the Mughal territory in the Deccan, He was arrested and put to death in 1689. His son Sahu was put in prison where he remained till 1708.

After the execution of Shambhji, the struggle was carried on by Raja Ram, the brother of Shambhaji. After his death in 1700, the same struggle was successfully carried on by his widow, TaraBai. In spite of his best efforts. Aurangazeb could not reduce the Maratha power.

In one of the wars against the Marathas in the closing years of his reign, Aurangazeb had his knee dislocated while trying to cross a flooded river. His condition became very bad in 1705 when he had a servere attack of fever. The Emperor died in 1707 at the ripe old age 89 at Ahmadnagar.

2.16.2 Results of the Deccan Policy

1. Aurangazeb's Deccan expedition of twenty-five long years is considered as a great political blunder on his part. Dr. V.A. Smith says, "The Deccan proved to be the grave yard not only of Aurangazeb's body but also of his empire. "Aurangazeb committed a great political blunder in conquering and annexing the two Shiah States of the Deccan to the Mughal Empire. There is no doubt that states professed Shia faith, but he should not have subordinated his statesmanship to his religious fanaticism.
2. It led to the economic breakdown of the Mughal Empire. The constant Deccan wars drained the economic resources of the Mughal Empire. This economic bankruptcy of the Mughal Empire was one of the most potent causes of its downfall. The salaries of thousands of soldiers fell into arrears for over three years. The soldiers who had not received their salaries for a long time past, naturally turned against the Emperor and they fought.. half heartedly in the field. On account of the weakening of the central authority, not much could be realized from the distant provinces.
3. The Emperor's Twenty-five years of stay in the Deccan brought about a complete dislocation of Northern India. The Mughal administration also became inefficient and corrupt. Consequenty, indiscipline reigned supreme and the officers became corrupt, greedy and cruel. They plundered the masses in every possible way. The provincial governors and faujdars defied the central government. The Sikha and the jats also found a golden opportunity to increase their power. This state of affairs resulted in many revolts and rebellions and the process of disintegration of the Mughal Empire began in the very life time of Aurangazeb.
4. The operations of the imperial armies especially the numerous sieges, led to a total destruction of forests, and grass. The huge Mughal forces totaling

1,77,000 including no-combatants, ate up everything green. The Maratha raiders destroyed whatever they could not carry. They fed their horses on the standing crops. When Aurangazeb retired in 1705 the country presented a scence of utter desolation.

5. Another political mistake committed by Aurangazeb was that after the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda, he did not act upon the policy of reconciliation with the Marathas. Akbar treated well the Raj puts whom he conquered and so he was able to establish a very powerful empire, similarly, Aurangazeb, too after subduing Sambhaji and Raja Ram, should have adopted a policy of following a liberal and generous policy, He followed an orthodox and conservative policy towards them. It has been correctly remarked that, Small hearts and big Empires cannot go together'

Sir jadunath Sarkar has made the following observations with regard to the effects of the Deccan wars; "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangazeb now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire has become too large to be ruled by one man or form one centre. His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The old emperor in the far off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustan and the administration grew slack and corrupt; chiefs and Zamindars defied the local authorities and asserted themselves in the provinces of Agra in particular, there was chronic disorder.

Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of imperial patronage; not a single grand edifice, finely written manuscript on exquisite picture commemorate Aurangazeb's reign. The endless wars in the Deccan exhausted his treasury; the government turned bankrupt; the soldiers starving from arrears of pay mutinied; and during the closing years of his reign, the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the able Diwan Murshid Quli khan, was the sole support of the Emperor's household and army and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon used to say, "it was the army and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon used to say, "it was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangazeb".

2.17.3 Last days of Aurangazeb

As years rolled on, Aurangazeb saw before his eyes failure piled upon failure and his empire filled his mind with anguish and made him extremely unhappy His advice to his rebellious sons to have the empire by partition went unheeded. Conscious of his failure and seriously apprehensive of the imminent disaster, he wrote to his son Azam; "I came alone and am going alone. I have not done well to the country and the people and of the future, there is no hope". To Kam Basksh he wrote, I carry away the burden of my shortcomings... Come what may I am launching my boat".

The deep pathos of these letters is bound to move every human heart and to rouse in it sympathy for the old monarch on his "lonely deathbed". Worn out in mind and body by heavy worries and hard toil the Emperor died at Ahmadnagar in the morning of the 3rd March 1707, "with the Muslim confession of faith on his lips. His body was carried to Daulatabad and was laid to rest in the compound of tomb of famous Muslim saint Burhan ud – Din.

2.18. LET US SUM UP

Akbar secured the throne in 1556. Akbar's achievements have deservedly won for him a high pact among the greatest monarchs known to history. He was a fearless soldier and great general, a wise administrator, a benedict ruler, and a sound judge of character. Akbar's treatment of the Hindus marks a new epoch in the history of the Muslim rule in India. Jawaharlal Nehru has rightly described him as the "Father of Indian Nationalism". After Akbar's death, Prince Salim formally ascended the throne an October 24, 1605. He was able kind, but ease loving king. He had a genuine desire to be just and he attempted to keep in tact Akbar's system of administration. Jahangir was a partum of arts and literature. New elements were added to architectural deceratims. He built the Tomb of Atmat-ud-daula and Tomb of Akbar, which are grand and notable. When Jahangir died in October 1627 his son shah Jahan was in the Deccan. Shah Jahan was the king of the builders. His main buildings are the Taj Mahal, motimasfi, Summan Burj ant Agra, Red Fort and Jama Masfit at Delhi. He had great love for gardens. The peacock throne built by shah Jahan was a marvelous throne. Shah Jahan's last days made highly tragic by the outbreak of war of succession among his sons. He has four sons. Among them Aurangazeb secured the throne in 1658. He was not at all interested in architecture. Though Aurangazeb did not give any encouragement to literature butmany historians wrote valuable books such as Alamgiranama, Khulasa-ul-tawarikh and Fathuhat-i-Alamgiri. His policy towards the Hindus weakened the foundations of the mughal empire. He re-imposed Jazia, dismissed the Hindu Officials, demolished the temples of the Hindus and persecuted them. The Deccan Policy of Aurangazeb was a blunder. Due to his too much involvement in the affairs of the Deccan, he was completed to stay there, away from his capital. It was a major cause for the downfall of the mughal Empire.

2.19. KEY WORDS

1. **Harbinger**	-	One who announces another's approach
2. **Unprecedented**	-	For which there is no previous example.
3. **Sufi**	-	Mohammedan Pantheist
4. **Malcontents**	-	disaffected person.

2.20. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer Section No.2.2.2.
For Question No.2	Refer Section No.2.6.
For Question No.3	Refer Section No.2.8.2.
For Question No.4	Refer Section No.2.10.2
For Question No.5	Refer Section No.2.11.7
For Question No.6	Refer Section No.2.12.2

2.21. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **R. Sathianatha Iyer.,**	-	History of India Vol II, III.
2. **Iswari Prasad.,**	-	The short history of Muslim Rule in India.
3. **V.D. Mahajan.,**	-	Mughal Rule in India History of Modern India.
4. **A.L. Srivastava.,**	-	The Mughal Empire.

2.22. QUESTION AND EXERCISES

1. Outline the growth of the mughal Empire under Akbar upto 1595 and mention the factors that helped its consolidation.
2. Estimate Akbar as a nation builder.
3. How far the regin of Shah Jahan can be considered the golden age of the mughal rule in India.
4. Narrate the events leading to Aurangazeb's succession to the throne, what light do these events throw on his character?
5. Review Aurangazeb's religious policy How did it contribute to the decline of the mughal Empire?
6. Critically examine the Deccan Policy of Aurangazeb.

LESSON - 3

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

INTRODUCTION

Mughal administration was mainly the product of the genious of Akbar. Babar and Humayun had neither time nor opportunity to carve out the plan of an administrative machinery. Akbar freely borrowed the materials from his precursor, Sher Shah. His administrative machinery differed widely from the methods of the Delhi Sultans. But, it was the combination of foreign and indigenous elements. In the words of J.N.Sarkar, "The Mughal administration represented a combination of Indian and extra – Indian elements" or more correctly, it was the Perso – Arabic system in Indian setting".

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

a. Understand the Mughal administration
b. Recognize the importance of Revenue system.
c. Know the evolution of Mansabdari system

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1. Source of Information
3.2. Nature
3.3. The Sovereign
  3.3.1. The Nobility
  3.3.2. The Mughal court
3.4. Central Government
  3.4.1. The Prime Minister
  3.4.2. Mir Bakshi
  3.4.3. High Steward
  3.4.4. The Chief Quzi
  3.4.5. The Chief Sadar
  3.4.6. Censor of Public Morals
  3.4.7. Artillery Department
  3.4.8. Department of intelligence and posts.

3.5. Provincial Government

- 3.5.1. Sarkars or District
- 3.5.2. Parganas
- 3.5.3. The villages
- 3.5.4. Administration of Towns
- 3.5.5. Ways used to check the evil Practices of Officers.
- 3.5.6. Army

3.6. The Revenue System

- 3.6.1. Land Revenue

3.7. Law and Justice.

- 3.7.1. Police
- 3.7.2. The Harem
- 3.7.3. Mughal Public Service
- 3.7.4. Criticism

3.8. Military Organisation

3.9. The Mansabadary System

3.10. Let us Sum Up

3.11. Key Words

3.12. Answer for CYP Questions

3.13. Books for Further Reading

3.14. Questions and Exercises

3.1 SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl provides with a mine of information about the Mughals but it does not provide with much help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative set-up. The official Handbook of the Mughals lend some information. The Padshah Namah of Abdul Hamid Lahori gives useful information. The writings of foreigners like Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Hawkins, Manucci, Tavernier and Terry throw much light on certain aspects of Mughal administration.

3.2 NATURE

The Muslim state was essentially a military state, and depended for its existence on the absolute authority of the monarch. It was a theocratic state, where the Islamic coade of conduct was strictly observed. But, the Government of Akbar war universal theocracy The Mughal government was a one-man rule and

Check Your Progress Questions

1. What are the source for study the Mughal administration?
2. Define The Mughal Court?

Aurangazeb like his contemporary Louis XIV, was really his own Prime Minister. His ministers were secretaries who carried the royal will. It was totalitarian (benevolent to a small degree) state and Its ruler believed in the Divine Right of Kingship. As the government was absolute and highly centralized, the written records multiplied. Therefore, the Mughal government came to be called a "Paper Government". It was a police state and its rulers did not fail to take the severest action in times of dandger.

3.3. THE SOVEREIGN

The Mughal Emperor was the head of the administration. His power was unlimited. He was also regarded as the shadow of God on earth. His word was law and his will none could dispute. He was the supreme authority in the state. He was the commander of the State forces, the fountain of justice and the chief legislator. Even in religious controversies the Emperor's decision was final. The Mughal Emperors had no regular council of ministers.

The ministers could not claim to be consulted as a matter of right. From one point of view, the enormous powers of the Emperors were strictly limited: (i) Their orders could not be easily enforced in the distant corners of the Empire. (2) They feared of revolts and insurrerctions (3) They could never completely forget the ends and means of the people (4) They could never set aside the customs and conventions of the tand (5) They had to guard against royal conspiracies and court dethronement. (6) They had to resist external attacks. The Mughal ruler styled himself as Padshah (Emperor). To a great extent. Akbar was a benevolent autocrat. But his successors, especially Aurangazeb, the enthusiastic Muslim, laboured hard particularly for the well being of the Muslim subjects. Mughal Emperors, except Aurangazeb, loved pomp and pleasure. "Royalty" writes Abul Fazl, "is a light emanating from God, a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the Universe, an argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtures. " In this respect. Akbar stands unique among all.

3.3.1. The Nobility

The Mughal nobility was a heterogeneous body, composed of diverse elements like the Turk, Tartar, Persian and Indian. Therefore, it was very difficult to organise it into a powerful baronial class. The nobility was not hereditary but purely official in character. The nobles received their titles and emoluments from the Emperor. Some Europeans also received titles of nobility. A noble had only a life interest in his Jahir which was taken over by the crown on his death. The effect of the system of the capse of property to the crown in the event of the noble having no heir was most harmful. The nobles led extravagant lives and squandered away all their money in unproductive luxury during their lifetime.

3.3.2. The Mughal Court

The court was full of pomp and splendour. It reached like high water-mark under Shah Jahan. The foreign travelers like Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci have recorded their great admiration of the Mughal Court. The Emperor had an exacting daily routine. He gave dharsan to his subjects shorly after sunrise. He spent about two hours in the audience hal, hearing reports, receiving petitions and disposing of judicial cases. He also inspected parades of men and animals. Writers by the side of the king noted down carefully his orders. After this, the king would go to the Diwanikhas where he disposed of administrative work. In the royal tower, he had confidential consultaions with his ministers on secret and political maters.

This was the routine work for the forenoon. The quality of work turned out, depended on the ability of the individual monarch. Next to akbar, Aurangazeb showed indefatigable energy. He is said to have slept only three hours a day. A great part of his time was taken up by acts of devotion in accordance with the Koran and the traditions. His lack of understanding and sympathy unfortunately spoiled his work as a ruler. But Akbar was a well balanced man in all his enterprises, official and unofficial. Strict adherence to etiquette was demanded in court ceremonials. All had to remain standing. Only princes could sit, if permitted. Jahangir had a golder chair for Shah Jahan in his court, so had Shah Jahan for ara, his eldest son. Kissing the ground was modified by salutation in which a man only bowed and touched his forehead, his eyes and arms. Scholars and divines were exempted even from this form of salutation. No one could show his back to the throne. On festive occasions, were gorgeous and tasteful decorations made and the Amirs and the Emperor appeared in their best dresses. The king accepted presents and bestowed rewards.

3.4. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Central Government under Akbar consisted of four departments. The number rose to six in the time of Aurangazeb: (1) The Exchequer and Revenue under the Diwan, (2) The Imperial House-hold under the Khani Saman or High Steward: (3) The Military pay and Accounts Office under the Mir Bakshshi: (4)

Check Your Progress Qustions

3 .Explain the central and Provincial Government in the Mughal Period.

4. Write a Short note an the Revenue System.

5. What is the Mansabdary system.

Canon Law, both civil and criminal, under the Chief Qazi (5) Religious Endowments and Charities under the Chief Sadr and (6) Censorship of Public Morals under the Muhtasib. Besides these, Artillery under the Mir Atish and Intelligence and Posts under the Durougah functioned well as subordinate departments.

3.4.1. The Prime Minister

Under Akbar, the Prime Minister bore the title of Vakil. Sometimes, he was called Wazir.The Prime Minister usually held the portfolio of revenues, but it was in his capacity as Diwan. He was primarily a civil officer. He was seldom given the command of an army. "His main duty was to advice the king and the rest of the official world". He represented the emperor during the latter's absence or illness or when he was a minor. His office received all revenue papers. He issued order for all kinds of payments, oppointments and promotions. He controlled the treasury and decided all questions relating to the collection of revenue.

3.4.2. Mir Bakshi

The Mir Bakshi exercise a general control over the whole army. All orders of appointment to Mansabs passed through his office. He had to enforce the royal regulations in the army, supervise branding of horses and inspect the stipulated number of soldiers under Mansabdars. He had to maintain a register of Mansabdars. He was to pass their salary bills.

3.4.3. High Steward

He was the head of the Emperor's household department including his personal servants, atendents, and the royal kitchen. He supervised the emperor's daily expenditure, food and stores. The harem and court were under his control. He therefore, enjoyed great influence.

3.4.4. The Chief Qazi

Chief Qazi assisted the Emperor in judicial matters. He appointed provincial, district and city Qazis. He possessed great powers. He was the chief authority on the Isiamic Law. Corruption was prevalent in the office.

3.4.5. The Chief Sadr

He was in charge of the Charity Department. He had to honour pious men scholars, theologian and monks by granting jagirs. He had to scrutinize applications for grants. He appointed the provincial Sadr.

3.4.6. Censor of Public Morals

The police had to censor practices like drinking of distilled spirits, intoxicating liquors, gambling and the certain kinds of sexual immorality. The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy against the prophet and neglect of the five daily prayers and the observance of Ramzan by Muhammadans also lay within the province of the censor. Sometimes they had to fix the price of commodities and enforce the use of correct weights and measures in the markert.

3.4.7. Artillery Department

This office was originally subordinate to the Mir Bakshshi. But as artillery came to play a very important role in wars, the head of this department rose to the position of a minister. This office had a defend the imperial palace and fort.

3.4.8. Department of Intelligence and Posts

The Superintement was in charge of a host of news-writers, spies and news carriers. This department was to collect reports regularly. They were the supremen authority with regard to communications.

3.5. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Provincial administration was greatly improved by Akbar. He divided his Empire into twelve provinces. During the reign of Jahangir, it rose to seventeen and twenty-one under Aurangazeb. The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of Central Government. The governor was the supreme head of the civil as well as the military administration of each provinces. He had a staff of subordinate officers under him like the Diwan, Bakshi etc. The Diwan was appointed by the central government. The Diwan often acted as a rival to the governor. The governor or the subedar had to maintain law and order in his province. He had to enforce imperial decrees and held the collection of revenue. He was also required to administer criminal justice. He was entrusted with the power to collect the tributes from vassal princes.

3.5.1. Sarkars or Districts

The provinces were divided into Sarkars. Faujdar was the head of each district. He worked under the direct orders of the Subedar.

He was in constant touch with him. He was an executive officer and had to command a contingent of trops. His main duty was to maintain peace and order in the district. He had to keep the powerful zamindars under check and the roads open to traffic and fre from robbers and dacoits.

3.5.2. Parganas

The district was sub-divided into parganas. The shiqdar, the amil, the amin the fatadar and a few writers were top-ranking official of ech pargana. The Shiqdar was in charge of general administration of the pargana. He also acted as a Criminal magistrate cases.

3.5.3. The Villages

Each pargana was divided into many villages. Every village was an antonomous unity. The heads of families constituted an assembly which was responsible for the village administration such as watch and ward, sanitation, elementary education, irrigation medical relief, public works, moral and religious welfare.

3.5.4. Administration of Towns

The chief administrator of the city was the Kotwal. He was the chief of the city police and was appointed by the central government. His main duties were: (1) watch and ward of the city; (2) control of the markerts; (3) care and disposal of heirless property; (4) watch over the people's conduct and prevention of crime; (5) prevention of social abuses; (6) regulation of cemeories, burials and slaughter houses. He kept a contingent of horse and foot to discharge these duties. He was to instruct the spies to report him about every person coming in or going out of the city. He demanded hard labour from all. He had to keep an eye over professional women, dancing girls and vendors of spirits and other intoxicants. The city government was fairly good and well-planned.

3.5.5. Ways used to check the evil practices of officers

The Mughal Emperors followed the practice of frequent transfer of officers within three years. This method was copied from Alaudin Khilji, later adoped by Sher Shah. The Emperors under took secret tours frequently. They appointed two officers of the same rank as in the Arabic system to act as a check upon each other. They kept as well trained spy system which was vigilant in its duties. They demanded compulsory information with regard to the day-to day life to the people. They kept a department of registration and censorship.

They were mostly responsible for saving the morale of the country. Severest punishments were meted out to the guilty. Yet, the Mughal Emperors could not get rid of the corrupt practices. Almost all officials were notorious for taking bribes.

3.5.6. Army

The history of the Mughal army was largely the history of the Mansabdari system. The State did not maintain a standing army. The Mughal forces consisted of five branches – infantry. cavalry. artillery. elephants and war-boats. They also kept different classes of troops; (1) Forces supplied by the tributary chief; (ii) Forces supplied by the Mansabdars; (iii) Troops paid by the State; and (iv) Ahadis or a body of "Gentlemen troopers".

3.6. THE REVENUE SYSTEM

The central revenue was derived from custorms, mint, inheritance, plunders and indemnities, presents, monopolies and the poll. 6 of this, the land revenue was the most important source of state income. Babar and Humayun changed pilgrim tax and jizya from the Hindus and zakat from the Muslims. Akbar abolished many of these taxes; but Aurangazeb renewed most of the abolished taxes.

3.6.1. Land Revenue

Sher Shah was the first Muslim ruler to make a systematic land survey. His system was reformed and adopted by Raja Todar Mal, the finance minister under Akbar. This reform was introduced in 1582. The chief features of this revenue system were; 1) survey and measurement of land 2) classification of land and 3) fixation of rates. Lands were carefully surveyed and for measurement the old unit was abolished. The old tanab or tent ropes which contracted in moist air and lengthened during the hot season was replaced by the Jurib of bamboos joined by iron rings, which assured a constant measure. Land was divided into four classes according to the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation: 1) Palraj or land capable of being annually cultivated 2) parauti or land kept fallow for some time to recover productive capacity, 3) Chachar or land that had been fallow for thre or four years and 4) Banjar or land unclultivated for five years or longer. This system was called "Todar Mal's bandobast".

The demand of the state was fixed at one third of the actual produce. This was paid by the ryots either in cash or in kind. Each rates varied according to crops. Akbar introduced the system in this greater part of Northern India and during the vice-royalty of Aurangazeb it was extended to the Deccan. This system was not enforced in the outlying part of the empire.

The success or failure of this system largely depended upon the quality and nature of administration at the centre. Defects appeared in the administrative machinery during the reign of Aurangazeb. But, on the whole, its principles were sound. But, in actual practice it needed scrutiny and honesty. The ryots got a certain amount of security. Fluctutations from their holdings for default of payment. The custom of payment by the division of the crop on the basis of the actual produce of a year was better than the modern money rent system. The demand at the rate of one-third was not a heavy burden on the peasants. The taxes were collected directly from the peasants by the officials. So, there was no need for an intermediary. Throughout the medieval age, there was the chronic antagonism between the peasants and revenue collectors. The collectors tried to exact much more than the legitimate revenue from the peasants in the shape of imposts. They were abolished again and again, but managed to reappear in some form or other. Under the later Mughals. Todar Mal's bandobast disappeared.

3.7. LAW AND JUSTICE

The Mughal Emperors were lovrers of justice. They regarded speedy administration of justice as one of their important duties. All foreign travelers have commented on the speedy justice of the Mughal courts and referred few cases coming before them. The Emperor was the fountain of justice and the final court of appeal. Akbar once stated, "if I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgement against myself". Jahangir's "Bell of Justice" attracted the attention of many foreigners. Others Emperors also attempted to give justice to their subjects, though they did not succeed so well as Akbar the Great.

The Mughal judicial system was very imperfect. There were no written code of laws. The judges chiefly followed the Koranic law. They did not disregard customary laws and sometimes followed principles of equity. Above all, the word of the Emperor was considered as law. Criminal law was common both to the Muslims and the the Hindus. In civil cases, the Hindus were governed by the Dharmasastras. The Qazis tried both civil and criminal cases of the Muslims and the Hindus. The Qazis were expected to be just, honest and impartial. Generally, the Qazis abused their powers. They were notoriously corrupt. The popular saying was, "When the Qazi's bitch died, the whole town was at the funeral, when the Qazi himself died, not a soul followed the coffin.

Punishments were very severe. Fines could be imposed. Severe punishments like amputation, mutilation, and whipping could be inflicted by the courts. The approval of the Emperor was necessary for capital punishments. The Muslim punishment of parading the offender in an ignominious conditions seems to have been frequently used as it coincided with the Hindu tradition as well. There were no regular jail system, but the prisoners were confined in forts.

3.7.1. Police

So far as the rural areas were concerned, the Mughals introduced no new arrangements for the prevention and detection of crimes. The village headman and his subordinate watchman were responsible for the above. In the cities and towns, all police were entrusted to the Kotwals. His main duty was to maintain peace and public security in the urban areas. In the districts, Peace duties were maintained by the Faujdar. He had a military force under his control. He had to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, and take cognizance of all violent crimes. The police arrangement under Akbar was fairly efficient and maintained a high standard of public order.

3.7.2. The Harem

The harem contained nearly 5,000 women. Each had a separate apartment. The women drew good salaries. There was a special staff to regulate expenditure. The members of the staff were in direct contact with the emperor's treasuer general. There were armed female guard for the protection of the women of the harem. Outside the harem, there were eunuchs or guards and beyond them there were the Rajput officials who had supervisory powers over the entire harem.

3.7.3. Mughal Service

From the time of the accession of Akbar the influx of foreign Muhammadans int, India declined. He evolved a policy of India for Indians. However there were a great numer of foreigners in various departments. These high officials were mostly Persians and Afghans. There were a few Hindustani Muhammadans in the higher grades of service. The appointments held by the Hindus were very few. Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued this policy but, Aurangazeb abandoned this policy which ultimately produced disastrous results.

3.7.4. Criticism

i) To the Muslim portion of the population, the Emperors undertook socialistic functions. But towards the non-Muslim subject they followed the policy of the individualistic minimum interferences. The Mughals did not consider public education as a duty of the State but was the hand-maid of religion. The encouragement of art and literature was a purely personal matter with the king. The aim of the government was thus extremely materialistic and almost sordid.

ii) To the indigenous people of India, the Mughal administration was an alien one. So, they hesitated to lend support to its progress and prosperity. The priciples of their government, their religious, policy, their rules of taxation, their department arrangements, and the very titles of their officials were imported readymade from outside India. Hence, no serious compromise was effected with the older native system.

iii) There was no clear-out distinction between the military and civil departments. In certain cases' those two departments were combined and held in the hands of a single individual who acted arbitrarily. The mansabdari system was another defect of the Mughal administration.

iv) In the Mughal administration, the theoretical aspects increased whereas the practical ability decreased. So it had become a mere Paper government.

This type of administration with its arrangement, procedure, machinery and even titles, was borrowed by the Hindu States. The Rajas of Jaipur and even the staunch champion of Hindu orthodox. Sivaji, copied it. Traces of it, still they survived under the Modern British Indian administrative edifice. Thus the Mughal system at one time spread over practically all the civilized and organized parts of India. "Modern India owes much more than is superficially apparent to the administrative genious of Great Mughals". –Edwards and Garrent. Even the Judgement of the English historian S. Own seems just; "Whatever it defects, it was ... a grandly conceived, well adjusted and beneficient structure of government".

3.8. MILITARY ORGANISATION

The weakest of Mughal administration was the military organization, a where one might have expected the most efficient centralized control. But instead of a large standing army, the emperors depended upon five different forces. They were 1) Cavalry 2) Infantry 3) Artillery 4) Elephantry, and 5) War-boats (navy).The cavalry was the most important, of all these branches. The infantry was largely composed of men drawn from ordinary townsmen and peasants. Guns were manufactured within the country and some were imported from outside. The artillery was much more perfect and numerous in Aurangazeb's reign than before. Recongnising its importance, Akbar had given it, his special attention, but his efforts to secure from the Portuguese some of their best cannon were unsuccessful. The navy was neither strong nor permanent. The admiralty department built boats of all kind for river transport, fitted out strong boats for transporting war elephants, recruited expert seamen, supervised the river, and imposed, collected and remitted river duties and tolls. The Mughals kept a fleet of 786 armed vessels and boats at Dacca to protect the coast of Bengal against the Arakanese pirates. But the naval establishment of the Maughals was not very high. In the words of Ikaram, "Desscendants of a people who knew nothing of the sea, the Mughals had little success in creating a navy"

The most efficient part of the army was stationed at the capital. The rest of the army was scattered all over the empire. There was no division of the army into grade of regiments. The soldiers were to make their supplies, to ride on their own horses, and to fight with their own arms. They could not expect government supply. There was no provision for regular parades. All these were some of the defects of the Mughal army. Forts played an important part in protecting the land from foreign raids. Large stores of foodgrains and ammunitions were stored in the forts. The forts were used for offensive and defensive purposes. Political prisoners were put in the forts.

The Mughal army suffered heavily from some evils. It was not a national army. It was a mixture of diversed elements. As the numerical strength increased, it was very difficult to be controlled and managed. The soldiers did not owe direct allegiance to the Emperor. They were more attached to their immediate commanders. The Mughal practice to taking along a great number of camp followers, including, occasionally the families of the soldiers and royal harem, made the army a very cumbersome and slow moving organization.

3.9. THE MANSABDARY SYSTEM

Mansab means rank of position. This system was borrowed from Persia. It was the basis of both civil and the military service under the Maughls. It was not a hereditary position.

Akbar's mansabdari system could be called a bureaucratic system. Every officer of the State held a mansab. So every government servant was a military servant. Akbar classified the office-holders into thirty-three grades, ranging from commanders of ten to commanders of ten thousand. This system worked well under him.

Al mansabdars were not nobles. Adventurers, talented people and honest warriors were also raised to this status. The Emperor personally made the recruitment, promotion, suspension and dismissal of the mansabdars. In order to prevent fraudulent musters. Akbar renewed the practice of branding the horses. The Emperor could raise them to dignities and degrade them to obscurity. There were two major divisions in the mansabdari system. One was called Omrans and the other, ordinary mansabdars. Omrans belonged to the highest rank. Scholars differ with regard to the connotation of zat and Sawar ranks. Zat meant the number of troops, which a mansabdar was expected to maintain and Sawar referred to the actual number of horses under the command of a mansabdar.

There were three classes of mansabdars. If Zat and Sawar ranks of a mansabdar equal, he belonged to the first class. If the Sawar rank was half of his Zar rank, he belonged to the third class. The mansabdars were paid very high salary either in cash or in jagirs. Grant of jagir was uncommon. Akbar made the jagir as crownlands. Even if a jagir was granted, it was not permanent. The jagirdar could have it as he was granted, it was not permanent. The jagirdar could have it as long as he was in the good-books of the Emperor.There was however, no great difference in the salaries drawn. After the death of a mansabdar his mansab reverted to the king.

The Mughal Emperors followed the law of escheat (Property that falls to feudal land or to the state for want of an heir). The Mansabdars spent most of their time and money in luxuries. Some of the nobles received a pension on retirement For example Governor of Gujarat possessed a dazzling court. Even Daud Khan spent large sums on his pet birds. Islam Khan spent lakhs of rupees on dancing girls.

The Mansabdari system was not free from corruption. False musters says, "Irvine, were an evil from which the Mughal army suffered in its most pal my days". They never possessed the required number of horses as had been informed, Laziness had always to be traitors and joined the victorious side. In the absence of an active supervision, there was deterioration in the public service.

As jagirdars, they could flout the authorities of the king, But, the King was, very careful in granting jagirs, the feudal system of Europe was hereditary in its basis. The feaudal lords were the supreme authority within their jurisdiction and even jointly opposed the monarch but, the mansabdars in spite of being subordinate servants remained powerful as long as they were in the good books of the Emperor.

3.10. LET US SUM UP

The Mughals established an imperial state in the true Sense freeform ever shadowy allegiance to an external authority like the Caliphate and exercised unrivalled power over vast territories. The mughal padshah and the Turbo. Afghan Sultan belonged to entirely different categories of monarchy. The mughal empire was a centralized disposition based an military power. It rested an two pillars: the absolute authority of the emperor and the strength of the army. The emperor was the supreme commanders of the armed forces, and all other commanders were appointed. He determined the rank of every mansard and allotted jagirs for the maintenance of the mansabdar.

He was the fountain of justice as also the supreme judge. He made laws and issued administrative ordinances which had the force of laws, although the principles of Shari at were generally adhered to. Yet the mughal system of centralization was universally effective under Akbar, Jahamgir, Shah Jahan and Aurangazab. The mughal administration presented a combination of Indian and extra – Indian elements, or more correctly, it was the "Perso – Arabic system in Indian Selting".

The bifurcation of authority in the provinces the division of power between the subadhar and the divan was based on the system prevailing under the Arab rulers in Egypt. The revenue system was a resultant of two forces the time honored Hindu practice, and the abstract Arabian theory. The mansabadari system was of central Asian origin.

3.11. KEY WORDS

Shariat	-	Islamic Law
Wazir	-	Diwan
Swanith	-	Nigar - news writers.
Harkarah	-	Spy and courier
Bakhshi	-	Paymaster

3.12. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer Section No 3.1.
For Question No.2	Refer Section No 3.3.2.
For Question No.3	Refer Section No 3.4 – 3.5
For Question No.4	Refer Section No 3.6.
For Question No.5	Refer Section No 3.9.

3.13 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. V.D Mahajan., - Mughal Rule in India History of Modern India.

2. Shinha and Roy., - A History of India.

3. Sarkar., - Modern India

4. P. Gomathi nayagam., - History of India. Vol.II.

3.14. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Describe the Salient features of the Mughal Administration?
2. Give a Critical account of Central government?

LESSON - 4

SOCIO, ECONOMIC & RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS. MUGHAL ART & ARCHITECTURE – DECLINE OF THE MUGHALS

Space of Hints

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary travel accounts of the Europeans speak in plenty of the Socio-economic conditions prevailing under the Mughal rule in India. The contemporary works in history in Persian and the evidences as gleaned from the ballads, throw a beam of light on the Mughal Society.

The emperor was the head of the empire. His was a feudal society. The nobles occupied a significant position, next to the king. They enjoyed many privileges and concessions. The poor were leading a very pathetic life. It created a vast gulf between the commons and the affluent. The rich found pleasure in luxuries and entertainments. They consumed liquors. The palatial residences of the rich were adorned with sexy paintings and drawings. They celebrated costly festivals frequently to exhibit their affluence.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

- Understand the socio, economic and religious condition of the Mughals.
- Estimate the art and architecture of the Mughals.
- Analyse the causes for the down fall of Mughals.

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Society
    4.1.1 Customs and Practices in the society
4.2 Economic condition
    4.2.1 The cities
    4.2.2. Agriculture
    4.2.3 Industries
    4.2.4 Foreign Trade
    4.2.5 Currency
    4.2.6 Famines

4.3 Art and Architecture
 4.3.1 Paintings
 4.3.2 Architecture
4.4 Causes for the Decline and Downfall of the Mughal empire
 4.4.1 Shah Jahan
 4.4.2 Aurangazeb
 4.4.3 Absence of a regular law of succession
 4.4.4 Alien government
 4.4.5 Weak successors of Aurangazeb
 4.4.6 Degenerated Nobility
 4.4.7 Exhausted military power
 4.4.8 Administrative difficulties
 4.4.9 Depleted treasury
 4.4.10 Revolting Governors
 4.4.11. Religious persecution and religious awakening
 4.4.12 Foreign invasions
 4.4.13 Rise of the British power
4.5 Let us sum up
4.6 Key Words
4.7 Answer for CYP Questions
4.8 Books for Further Reading
4.9 Questions and Exercises

4.1. SOCIETY

The nobility from other countries who resided in the capital during Shah Jahan's rule did not cause any financial losses. But the royal people became more immoral. Their immorality got worsened during the reign of Aurangazeb. Later the rivalry between the selfish and immoral nobility led to political plots and conspiracies and paved the way for much more political confusions also.

The middle class came under the hold of the nobility. These people did not indulge in luxury and rather limited their expenses to suit their pockets. Generally the traders led a simple and systematic life. An European traveler tells about the condition of workers, servants and shop keepers during this period. He says that their wages were not steady and upto mark. They ate a poor meal.

They were tortured by the officials of the government. Rich shop keepers concealed their wealth. Agriculturists experienced horror under the governors. Their economic conditions became worse and they were more poverty-stricken. There were diversities in the society.Hindus dominated the population. There were Jains and Buddhists also in the society. Caste and creed differences became a common feature. The Brahmins and the Rajputs were considered the topmost in the caste hierarchy. The Rajputs were warriors. They held vast estates under their posesion and high positions also in the government. There were people of the lower castes also. Some of them, because of suppression by the upper caste people, embraced Islam.

The Muslims were industrious and hard working. There were a section of new converts into this religion. They were numerically great in number. The Mughal's royal court wasunder the grip of the foreign Muslims. The Muslim population consisted of the Arabs, the Persians, the Turks, the Mongols, the Uzbecks, the Abyssians and the Armenians. Irrespective of their nativity, the Muslims were classified as sunnys, shiahs, bogars and gojaks. Sunnys were numerically more among Muslims. Clashes arose often between Sunnys and Shiahs. The Europeans secured better posts in the government under the Mughals. They were highly respected and they were permited run their trade.

4.1.1.Customs and Practices in the Society

Both Hindus and Muslims had a staunch faith in astrology. The evils prevalent in the social were sati, child marriage, infanticide, dowry, etc. Akbar tried his level best to abolish the practices of polygamy. However the Marthas did not encourage the dowry system and they opposed compulsory marrieage too. Non-Brahmins were for widow re-marriage.

Liquors were prohibited. But the Rajputs consumed both intoxicants and liquor. As days rolled by tobacco occupiesits increased consumption. Chess, gambling, hunting, dancing and music were the hobies and pastime of common people. Kite flying, wrestling, the coarse games and climbing the tres are other pastimes. Hindus and Muslims celebrated several festivals. The birth day of the Emperor.Deepavali, Nawroz of the Persian New Year Day, and Ramzan are some of the festivals that they celebrated.

The women during the Mughal rule led a secluded life. The purdah system was in practice. The Muslims used to betroth their children even at their learly age-between six and eight.

But their marriages were solemnized only when they became grown-ups-Divorce was not practiced by the Hindus. Where as the muslims did it. The practice of slavery resulted in the ruin of the society. Eunuchs were liberally traded. Several Hindus were forced to convert to Islam and were treated as servants. Superstition affected the society to a greater extent. People were moderate in eating and exemplary in hospitality.

4.2. ECONOMIC CONDITION

Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, the accounts left by contemporary European traders, travelers and writers, **Humayun Namah** by Gulbadan Begum, the accounts left by European factories etc, serve as main sources to understand thoroughly the economic condition under the Mughal rule.

4.2.1. The Cities

The capitals of these days were prosperous. Agra and Fatehpur are important cities. They were larger than London and more populous. Lagore and Khandesh were other big cities. They cherished in wealth and population.Varanasi, Patna, Burdwan, Hoogly, Chittagong etc, were some of the east Indian cities more popular. The foreign travelers have elaborated the beauty of these big cities in their accounts. The Punjab was a vast province with Lagore as its capital. It was prosperous and thickly populated.

4.2.2. Agriculture

A vaster section of the people were agriculturists. They grew wheat, barley, grams peas, oil seds, sugarcane, indigo and poppy. Sugarcane was grown in Bengal and Bihar extensively. There were many granaries too. Cotton was a common crop grown almost in the whole of India. The agricultural implements of these days resembled the ones of the present day. Artificial irrigation was not in vogue. well and tank were the common source of irrigation. The country was self-suffiecient. Apart from agriculture, the people engaged themselves in other occupations related to fishing, mining, salt, opium, liquor, etc. Gold was mined, iron ore was tapped from several parts of the country. Copper mines were there in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Golconda was famous for diamond mines. Salt pans were there on the coastal areas and opium was available at Malwa.

4.2.3. Industries

Textile industry was in plenty through out the country. Decca was famous for its soft and muslin cloth. Dyeing of the cloth was also flourishing. Silk industry was very rare. Bengal was famous for silk and jute. Bedsheet and bed spread industries functioned nunder the patronage of the emperor. Woolen and ship-building industry did not take a lead. Gun powder was also manufactured during this period. Caskets, stel lockers, pen stands, blankets, etc., were also manufactured in India. Ornamental plates, boards and writing materials were easily available. Small and large scale industries were regularized by the government. Bernier has paid rich tribute to the prosperity of India under the Mughals.

4.2.4. Foreign Trade

The people of Timur clan, who had Central Asia as their original home, patronised trade and carried on between. India and other European countries. The Mughal India was maintaining trade relations with Ceylon, Burma, China, East Indias, Nepal, Persia, Central Asia, Arabia, the Red Sea ports, East Africa, etc. The chief imports included gold plates, raw silk, horses, metals, ivory, coral, amphor, gems, cloth, cosmetics, medicines, glass wares and slaves from Arica. The important exports from India were textiles, pepper, Indigo, opium, spices, sugar, silk, salt, beads etc. The chief land routes were the ones connecting Kabul and Khandahar. But travel in these routes were very much limited and unsafe. Seas and rivers were very much useful for navigation. The chief sea-ports in India were Lagore, Bundher, Surat, Broach, Cambay, Goa, Calicut, Cochin, Nagapatnam, Masulipatnam and others. Traders were not allowed to take away even the least amount of silver from India. The Portuguese were also accorded permission to run their business in India.

4.2.5. Currency

Saha Jahan established a coin factory at Surat. Akbar issued coins made of gold, silver and copper. Business was transacted through coins of gold mohara, rupee, etc. One rupee was equated to forty thams. Cost of materials were cheap. But the buying power of the people was poor. So it was not a goldern age for the poor.

Check your Progress Questions

1. Write a short note on Agriculture

2. Explain the Mughal Architecture

3. What are the difficulties in the Administrative side

4.2.6. Famines

India an agricultural country, relies mostly on seasonal rains. When the rains fail, the agriculturists experience all sorts of hardships. During the reign of Akbar a famine executed military actions on the sea, land and in the air, the enemy's military machine was broken and, on 10th December, Dacca was threated and it fell on 15th . On 165th Lt. Gen.A.A.K. Niazi commander of the Pakistani forces in East Bengal, officially surrendered to Lt. Gen Jagjit Singh. Arora of India. At 8 p.m. on the same day Prime Minister India Gandhi announced cease fire. The war was over. Pakistan lost her easten wing which has now become a sovereign independent State called Bangla Desh.

Though Pakistan was defeated in the War, she did not ask for any talk to solve post war problems. It was Mrs Indira Gandhi who proposed a summit talk between herself and Mr. Bhutto to normalize relations between the two countries. The proposal was accepted by Mr. Bhuto. The summit conference, held at Simla between India and Pakistan in 1972, May. After much hard bargaining resoluted in an agreement. The agreement reiterated the intention of the two leaders to progressively normalize relations between the countries by taking steps to resume communication, travel facilities, to promote scientific and cultural exchanges etc. Simla Agreement was a vindication of the Indian stand that all the outstanding problems between the two countries must be solved through bi-lateral talks without the intervention of and third party.

4.3.ART AND ARCHITECTURE

4.3.1. Paintings

As patrons of painting, the Mughals gave the world legacy of enduring beauty. Mughal painting, like Mughal architecture was the combination of many elements. This was a composite school of painting, drawing inspiration from the Chinese art. Budhist, Indian art, Iranian, Hellenic art and Mongolian art. It was introduced in Iran in the 13th century and it continued to flourish up-to the 16th century in Iran. This art was carried by the Mughals into India from Persia. In the time of Akbar it was completely absorbed by the Indian art. The Hindu painters took their subjects and inspiration from the Indian classic Vaishna literature and the life of the peopie. The Persian (Western) Painters took their subjects and inspiration from the materialistic life of the court.

Babar was a great lover of beauty. He had an artistic taste. The paintings in the Alwar manuscript of the Persian version of Babar's memoirs were produced by Babar's court painters. Humayun evinced great interest in painting when he was exiled in Persia. He employed two famous painters in Kabul. In the time of Akbar, painting made very great progress.

There was a separate department of painting under the Khawaja Abdue Samad. Akbar took personal interest in the department and gave every kind of encouragement. Abdue Samad was a native of Shiraz in Persian. He was given the title "Shiring Kalam" Sweet-Pen". The majaority of the painters were Hindus. Also number of foreign painters were there. The leading Muslim painters were Abdus Samad, Mir Sayyid Aliand and Farukh Beg. Among the Hindu painters were Dowwant, Basawan, Sauwal Das, Tarachend Jaganath and others.

Jahangir patronized painting. He himself was a rich collector. a connoisseur and a critic. The great painters of Jahangir's days were Farukh Beg. Mohammad Nadir, Mohammad Murad, Ago Riza and Usiad Mansur. The Mughal emperor did not generally patronize the Hindu painters. There were only a few artists like Bishen Dass, Keshava the elder, Keshva the younger, Manobar Madhava, Tulsi and others. There was much realism in the paintings of Jahangir's reign, Real human beings were depicted in the portrait studies of the time. The royal ladies were very rarely the subjects of portraits.

Shah Jahan's interest was in architecture and not in painting. Asaf-Khan and a few other nobles patronized the painters. The famous painters of the time of ShahJahan were Mir Hason Anup Chitra and Chitrament. Aurangazeb also did not encourage the painters. He himself is said to have white washed the paintings in Sur Mahal in Bijapur. He is said to have defaced the paintings in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra. After the decline and fall of the Mughals the painters migrated to various places in the country. However their works were not of a very high order. The style and subject of Mughal art was "materialistic, exotic and eclectic". The Mughal school was not meant for the "Spiritual and common people". Only the ruling chiefs and Princes were its patrons and connoisseurs. Outside the court, little was known of its existence.

4..3.2. Architecture

The Mughals were great builders. The Afghan architecture was known for its massiveness and simplicity and the Mughal architecture was known for decoration and delicacy. There were no special features of Mughal architecture. Persian influence predominated upto the end of the reign of Akbar and after that the Mughal architecture became essentially Indian. Although Babar's stay in India was only a short period, and he was preoccupied with the conquest of the country he still found time to summon from Constantinople pupils of the Great Ottoman architect, Sinn. The great architect was entrusted with the construction of mosques and other buildings. He constructed many buildings. Out of these only two have survived and those are the mosques in the Kabul Bagh at Panipat and the Jumma

Check Your Progress Questions

4 Discuss the Downfall of the Mughal empire

5 Give an account of the rise of the British power

Masjid at Sambhal. Humayun built a mosque at Eatchbad in the Hissar district of the Punjab. It is decorated with enameled tiles the Persian style. Humayun's palace at Delhi called Din Tanah was built in haste. Sher Shah built a Mausoleum at Sasaram. The Mausoleum is situated on a terrace 30 feet high and about 3,000 square in the middle of a tank. It is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity. Sher Shah also built the Purana Qila at Delhi.

Akbar took a great interest in the field of architecture. The Hindu style was favoured in his palaces at the Agra fort and at Fatehpur Sikri. Humayun's tomb was completed in 1565 under the supervision of Akbar's step-mother. This building is Persian in style. Akbar laid the foundation of Fatahpur Sikri in honour of Safim Chisti in 1569 and many buildings were constructed during the next 12 years. The Jumma Musjid is a romance in stone. The Buland Darwaza is the highest gate way in India and it is one of the biggest in the world. It was constructed in 1602 to commemorate the conquests of Akbar in the Deccan. Other important buildings of Fatepur are the House of Birbal, the Sanhala Makan the palace of the Turkish Sultana and the Diwanikhas. Now Fatehpur Sikri is 'The silent witness of a vanished dream". The forts of Agra and Lahore were planned and constructed under the personal supervision of Akbar. The forts of Agra and Lahore were planned and constructed under the personal supervision of Akbar. The walls of the Agra Fort are very high and possess a circumference of a mile and half. There are two gateways called Delhi Gate or Elephant Gate and Amar Singh Gate. Akbar built more than 5,000 buildings of red sand stone within this enclosure. The agra Port resembled the Rajput fort of Gwalior. The Lahore Fort was built at the same time but the Allahabad Fort was built a little later. Akbar also built the fort of Attack and mosques at Mathura and other places. He designed his own tomb at Sikandra. It was begun in 1605 but was completed by jahangir. "The Chief characteristics of the architecture of Akbar's period were the extensive use of red sand stone, ideal synthesis of Hindu and Muslim art traditions, construction of vastly improved domes, arches and portals, increased use of marble, incorporating regional styles, construction of huge impregnable forts near river banks and the placing of tombs in specially designed garden settings and providing them with imposing and artistic gateways"

Jahangir was a lover of paintings and not of buildings. He did not even care to complete the tomb of his father by giving it a dome. Nur-Jahan eracted the famous Itmad-ud Daulah tomb in memory of her father. She built the tomb of Jahangir, at Shadara near Lahore. Their tomb of Jahangir, Asaf Khan and Nurjahan were badly damaged in the latter years.

Shah Jahan was the greatest builder amongst the Mughals. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwani-Aman the Emperor's office and the Diwan-i: Khs Hall of private audience in the fort of Delhi the Unmma Masjid, the Moti Masjid and peacock throne and the Taj. The buildings are of Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Kandahar, Ajmer and Ahmedabad. The palace of Delhi is the most maginificent in the East or perhaps in the world. An inscription on the Diwan-i-Khas described it in these words.

"If an earth be a Eden of Bliss
It is this it is this none but this".

The beauty of the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque) lies in its purity and simplicity. The Jumma Masjid is more impressive than the Moti Masjid. At Agra and Lahore, the palaces within Masjid is more impressive than the Moti Masjid. At Agra and Lahore, the palaces within forts were largely reconstructed. The greatest changes were recorded in the fort at Agra. The Taj was built by Shah Jahan in the memory of his beloved Queen, Arjumand Banu Begum who died in 1630. The Taj was constructed under the guidance of Ustad Isa who was paid as salary of Rs. 1,000 per month. It is estimated to have cost about Rs.3 Crores. The Taj is the "finest monument, conjugal of love and fidelity in the world". It is flawless in design and execution. It is a lyric in stone and a dream in marble.

Sir Edwin Arnol Writes

"That architecture, as all others are,
But the proud passion of an Emperor's love
Wrought into living stone which gleams and soars
With body of beauty shining soul and thought"

After the death of Shah Jahan,Mughal architecture began to decline. Aurangazeb was not interested in architecture. He built a small mosque in the fort of Delgi for his own use. A mosque was also built at Benares on the ruins of the temple of Viswanath in 1669. The Badshahi Mosque was built at Lahore in 1674. It is a poor imitation of the Jumma Masjid at Delhi. After the death of Aurangazeb, Mughal architecture completely deteriorated. The buildings that were constructed in the 18th century show the "bankruptcy of taste and poverty design, finish and decoration".

4.4.CAUSES FOR THE DOWNFALL

Internal disorders and disintegration and external fears and invasions accelerated the fall of the Mughal Empire. The Hindus brooded over their misfortunes. The Sikhs lamented over the murder of their ninth Guru and recruited the **"Khalsa"** to take revenge upon the Muslims. The jats and the Satnamis revolted against the misdeeds of the Mughal Emperors. The Rajputs rse in arms against the Muslim fanatics to uphold their hegemony in India Marathas under their gallant warrior and orthodox Hindu. Sivaji fought bravely to establish. Hindu supremacy in India. The later Mughal rulers were of pygmies to stem the tide of disintegration. They wasted their precious hours in royal conspiracies and court dethronements. Thus, they gave way to the foreigners to intrude upon India and to Plunder her wealth. Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abadali were not exceptions to this religious bigotry, sexual immorality. Devastating famine, corrupt officials, calculating chiefs, divided command revolving governors, war of succession., and degenerated nobility, alien administration, exhaustion, military strength, appetite on pomp and pleasure, depletion in treasury and the absence of a single-strong central authority all these sum up the cause of the fall of the Mughal Empire. Now let us analyse the important factors which led to the fall of Maughal Empire.

4.4.1.Shah Jahan

Jahangir obtained from doing his daily regal duties and entrusted them to his beloved queen, Nur Jahan, to obstruct the smooth functioning of the State. Anyhow the Mughal State reached its highest watermark under Shah Jahan, who lavished much on art and architecture. But he could not overcome a famine which affected the whole of the Deccan in 1630-32, Abdul Hamid Lahori, the court historian presented a moving, picture and denounuced the extravagance of the Mughal court. His reign is noted for heavy taxes, religious bigotry. oppression of the Shias defective administration, failure of frontier policies, decay in social morality, decline in economic system and devastating famines. Dr. A.L. Srivastava says that, "It was the beginning to the end of the Empire".

The same is echoed by Edwardes and Garrat "the reign of Shah Jahan sounded the deathknell of the Empire and its economic system".

4.4.2.Aurangazeb

He was neither a tyrant as Ivan the Terrible of Russia nor a grand monarch as the well-balanced ruler, Akbar the Great. He tried hard for the enrichment of the Mughal dynasty but his religious intolerance and persecution had brought ruin to him and his empire. His daily life was noteworthy, for he followed the Koranic priciples with minute care. He had thoughts of converting India into a Muslim State but misunderstood the nature of the Indians. He was a cruel son, a harmful ruler, a scheming brother and an unfortunate master. In other words he lacked the essential qualities of a successful monarch. The Marathas, the jats, the Sikhs, the Satnamis and the Rajputs showed their keenest opposition to him. His religious policy combined with the Deccan policy dug the grave for his empire as a whole.

4.4.3. Absence of a regular law of succession

The closing years of the reigns of even the Great Mughals had been disgraced by wars of succession and things became worse after the death of Aurangazeb. For, the Mughals did not follow a regular law of succession. In the Mughal family, fathers, sons and brothers regarded one another as enemies.

In the words of Erskine, "the sword was the grand arbiter of right, and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brother". Humayun's problems with his brother, Shah Jahan's difficulties with his relatives and Aurangazeb's encounters with his brothers are only a few instances. V.A. Smith says, "The prolonged anarchy involved in the repeated wars of succession, was a potent influence in bringing about the ruin of the imperial fabric. Taking advantage of these wars of succession, the distant provincial governors lost no opportunity in getting up independent stages for themselves. Thus, theseupheavals shook the very foundations of the Empire after a few years".

4.4.4. Alien Government

The Mughal Empire, alien in its nature and organization was regarded by the vast majority of the subjects as essentially a foreign empire. Hence, in spite of its Indian seting it could not inspire such feelings of intense loyalty and patriotism. The Indians hesitated to lend support to its progress and prosperity. Its existence depended mainly upon the character of the monarch and upon his military strength. Consequently, when the administrative machinery and military strength deteriorated, anarchy raised its head.

4.4.5. Weak successors of Aurangazeb

Aurangazeb was succeeded by a chain of weak and indolent successors who could be styled as debaucheries. They lacked the necessary qualities of rulers and so their period of reign was short. They engaged themselves in plots and thus forgot the administrative machinery. The immediate successor of Aurangaxeb was Bahadur Shah I, who was old in age but young in experience.

Jahandar Shah was a big fool in statesmanship and quite inexperienced in the art of administration. Farrukhasiyar was a worthless monarch who was conquered by the devil of laziness. Muhammed Shah was the seeker of sensual pleasures. Thus all the successors of Aurangazeb were ease loving and pleasure seeking heads of state. No wonder, they could not resist enemies.

4.4.6. Degenerated Nobility

The Mughal nobility occupied a pre-eminent place in the administrative edifice of the Mughals. In course of time there was a sudden decline in the Mughal peerage. J.N. Sarkar rightly observes thus, "To the thoughtful student of Mughal history nothing is more striking than the decline of peerage". They lost their old vigour and encouragement. Most of the nobiles left no heir to succeed them. The system of escheat had it repercussions on the Mughal nobility and it humbled adventurous spirit. So they wasted all their wealth in extravagance and unproductive luxuries. The result of all this was their moral, physical and economic degeneration. Such a degenerated nobility was no match for the tough Marathas and Rajputs.

4.4.7. Exhausted Military power

The disappearance of the better type of Mughals resulted in the deterioration of the Mughal army. They heroic soldiers of the early empire and their not less heroic wives had given place to a vicious and delicate breed of grandees, the ancestors of Aurangazeb were a gang of hardy and ruddy men who won over the most chaotic situations technically and bravely. The very organization and composition of the Mughal army was weak and defective. The Mughal army which was "a moving city of tents" consisted mainly of inefficient ill trained and ill-disciplined rabble. It was a heterogenous body consisting of the Afghans the Turks, the Mongols, the Tartars and the Indians. Addition to introxicating liquors forced them to indulge in sensual pleasures. They were soaked in sloth and unproductive luxuries Irvine remarks, "Expecting want of personal courage every other fault in the list in military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Mughals-indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity had commissatiate and combrous equipment". Even the Mansabdari system on which Mughal Empire depended was defective. The Mansabdars had an upper hand in cheating and always received double payment. They were ambitious luxurious and vicious. The Maghal also neglected the navy. If it had ben elaborate, well-trained, well-disciplined, and strong, it could have checked and prevented the advance of the Europeans. If a military state lacks that specific power, the natural consequence is decay and decline.

4.4.8. Administrative difficulties

During the days of Aurangazeb the size of the Mughal Empire had become unwieldy. It became physically impossible for any one to govern the same from one centre. There was the Deccani proverb Delhi is distant. The Difficulties arising out of slow transportation and communication led to the dismemberment of the Empire. To the vast majority of the Indians, the Mughal rule was a despotic government in which concentration of powers in the hands of a single individual was the dominant factor. The Mughal Emperor not only believed in the divine right of kingship but also thought that they were responsible only to God. They favoured certain officials and received their presents, Frequent transfers of the officals drained their Vigour, enthusiasm and made them irresponsible. They were noted for corruption and hypocracy. The administrative agencies in the Provinces, Sarkars and Parganas were insincere and egoistic. For example, the office of the Quazi was ridden by bribes. The chivalrous chiefs lost their vigilance and indulged in worldly pleasures and court dethronements.

4.4.9.Depleted treasury

The finances of the Empire were mismanaged and spent in useless enterprises and barbarous ostentation. The direct contact between the government and the ryot disappeared. The oppression of the zamindars, officials and robbers increased. This in turn doubled the burden of the poor ryots. Heavy taxes drained their wealth. The middle men pocketed a large part of the revenue collected. Agriculture was neglected. The workers were the victims of forced labour and low wages. When the rich were living in palatial building, traveling in palanquins and rollings in luxuries the poor were living on the verge of poverty and starvation. Further the continuous wars resulted in financial exhaustion, destruction of property and agriculture, and loss of manpower. The Mughal rulers lavished much on the erection of splendid buildings. This affected the state-treasury.

4.4.10. Revolting Governors

Under ambitions governors the desire for local autonomy increased. During the reign of Aurangazeb no provincial governor could dare to defy his authority.

Many of them were secretly hostile to him. After his death, most of them tried their fortunes and formed hostile cliques. ZulfidarKhan and Daud Khan were dreaming of setting independent kingdoms. In course of time, they dified the authority of the Emperors. Murshid Quli Khan and Saadat khan founded independent kingdoms. Chiefs like Mahabat Khan and Khan Jahan Lodi rebelled against their Emperors. The Nizam of Hyderaded and the Nawabs of Bengal and oudh declared their independence. The Rohilias revolted against their reigning authories. Thus, the second half of the seventhenth century was noted for rebellions, revolts and mutinies. These adversely affected the smoothe functioning of the Mughal administration.

4.4.11. Religious presecution and religious awakening

Most of the orthodox Sunni Mughal rulers were religious bigots. They were the dead enemies of both the Hindus and the Shias. But Akbar was an exception to this and his ambition was to establish a universal theocracy. Aurangazeb, the last of the Great Mughals, was a religious fanatic. He imposed the jizya, renewed the pilgrim tax, dismissed all Hindu philosophers, sent out all musicians, slaughtered the Hindu patriots and butchered dancing girls and harem ladies. He even murdered the ninth Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur.

The Sikhs organized the 'Khasasa' war against him. As time passed on many mushroom religious sects crept in Mahrashtra. Ramdas, Eknath and Tukaram inspired patriotic fervour into the heroes of the Hindus. In south India, the Bhakti Movement had much to do with the religious efflorescence. All these quickened the fall of the Mughal Empire.

4.4.12. Foreign Invasions

The chain of foreign invasions further accelerated the down fall of the Mughal empire. The invaders came both by land and sea. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali not only drained Mughal economy but also crippled their power. Nadir Shah carried away the Peacock Throne and the world famous KohiNoor diamond. They disturbed the Peace and Prosperity of the country.

4.4.13. Rise of the British Power

The strongest blow was struck on the tottering. Mughal Empires by the rising power of the English East India Company. The English gradually increased their power and came to possess, many trading centres and privileges, the general weakness of the later Mughals helped them a lot to consolidate their position in

India. In 1858, the last of the Mughal Emperors was condemned by the English against their Company's government and exiled to Rangoon where he died.

The tragic end of the Mughal Empire was inevitable and unavoidable. An all India Empire was practically parceled out into petty principalities. One Bahadur Shah, one Kam Bakshah, one Alam Shah, one Jahandar Shah, and one Farrudhsiyar could not resist the debacle or restore order. Ultimately, the vast Empire had fallen a prey to sectarian prejudices, court dethronements and foreign invasions. The disintegration of the Empire had far-reaching consequences on the social, cultural and economic life of the land. There was such a universal chaos that plunder and raping became a part of the political system of the day. Constant movement of troops throughout the length and breath of the land jeopardized the security of life, property and honour of the people.

Agriculture was neglected and sscenes of desolation spotlighted the land. Although local patrons multiplied, there was a general decline in art and letters. Craftsmen and skilled labour also suffered. The Indian mercantile community suffered a decline in their business. The disintegration of the Empire was highly detrimental to the land and its people.

4.5 LET US SUM UP

This lesson provides a detail account of the socio-economic and religious conditions of the Mughal period Hindus dominated the population. Caste and creed differences became a common feature. The women during the Mughal rule led a secluded life. The purdah system was in practice. The practice of slavery resulted in the ruin of the society. Agriculture was main occupation of the people. Textile industry was to other plenty through out the country. Dacca plenty through out the county dance was famous for its soft and Muslin cloth. The Mughal India was maintaining trade relations with Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan East Indies, Nepal, Persia, Arabia etc. In addition that Mughals art and architecture was important remarkable achievements of the society.

The paintings in the Alwar manuscript of the pension version of Bahar's memories was excellent. The paintings of Akbar's mausoleum at sikandara was another great achievement of Mughal period. Shah Jahan was the greatest builder amongst the Mughals. The important buildings of Shah Jahn were the Diwani Aman, Jumma Masjid, the Moti Masjid, peacock throne and the Tajmahal. The Taj is the "finest monument of conjugal love and fidelity in the world".

4.6 KEY WORDS :

Solemnised	-	Celebrate with all rites and coremonies
Hardship	-	That which is difficult to bear
Conjugal	-	Relating to marriage. matrimonial
appetite	-	Natural desire

4.7 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS :

For Question No 1	Refer Section No.4.2.2
For Question No 2	Refer Section No.4.3.2
For Question No 3	Refer Section No. 4.4.3
For Question No 4	Refer Section No.4.4
For Question No 5	Refer Section No.4.4.13

4.8 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Iswari Prasad.,	The Short history of Muslim Rule in India.
2. V.D. Mahayan.,	Mughal Rule in the History of Modern India.
3. A.L. Sri Vastava.,	The Mughal Empire.
4. Sarkar.,	Modern India.

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. **Estimate the contribution of the great Mughals to art and architecture**
2. **Describe the Mughal administrative system**
3. **Point out the main causes for the decline of the Mughal empire**

LESSON - 5

RISE OF MARATHAS - SHIVAJI - ACHIEVEMENTS ADMINISTRATION - SOCIO - ECONOMIC CONDITIONS - HINDU REVIVALISM.

Space of Hints

INTRODUCTION

The rise of the Maratha nation which played a dominant role in the politics of the Deccan was not a sudden development. But it was the result of a continued progress of national regeneration that had been going on in the country for more than three centuries. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, was not only a great warrior, empire builder but also a celebrated administrator.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this chapter the students will able to,

a. Understand the importance of the Marathas administration.

b. Know the Social and Economic conditions.

c. Estimate the contribution of Shivaji, analyse the casuses for Hindu revivalism

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1. Factors leading to the rise of the Marathas
    5.1.1. Geographical Factor
    5.1.2. Religious Factor
    5.1.3. Political Factor
    5.1.4. Economical Factor
5.2. Sivaji –His career and Achievements
    5.2.1. Sivaji's struggle with Bijapur
    5.2.2. Sivaji and the Mughals
    5.2.3. Attack on Surat
5.3. Administration
5.4. Local Government
    5.4.1.The Council of ministers.
    5.4.2.Revenue system.

5.5. Military Organisation
    5.5.1.Infantry
    5.5.2.Navy
5.6. Estimate of Sivaji
5.7. Bakti Movement – Sikhism.
5.8. Let us sum up.
5.9. Key wards.
5.10. Answer for CYP Questions.
5.11. Books for Further Reading.
5.12. Questions/Exercises

5.1. FACTORS LEADING TO THE RISE OF THE MARATHAS

Let us analyse the causes that led to the rise of the Marathas. The factors which contributed firstly to the rise of the Maratha State and secondly to the Maratha Empire were indeed many. Not a single factor alone, but a combination of factors were responsible for the rise of the Marathas.

5.1.1. Geographical Factor

Of the various forces, which had been shaping the history of the country and the development of the character and culture of the people geographical factors were of great importance. The nature of the Maratha country facilitated the rise of the Marathas in the beginning of the 17th century.

Maharashtra of the homeland of the Marathas, a triangular piece of land in the north western part of the Peninsula roughly lying between Tapti and a line drawn from Goa through Bidar to Chada on the Warda river. On the north it was rotected by a triple barrier of the Vindhyan and Satpura ranges and the Narmada. while the Western Ghats or the Sahyadri ranges and the sea formed the natural defences on the west the river Warda formed the natural defences on the east. A number of minor ranges had separated from these parent ranges and hence the whole country was extremely rugged. Many of the mountains terminated with fine springs of good water and were thus best fitted for the construction of hill forts. In the words of Grand Duff, “the peculiar formation of country, its precipitous mountains, inaccessible valley and impregnable hill-forts render, it at once the country of all others the most favourable for defence and the most dangerous to the invader”.

Many princes in the past had realized the strategic value of these positions and had studded the whole region with numerous forts. “Which but for experience would be deemed impregnable" Thus from the military point of view "there is probable no other stronger country in the world". The climate made them energetic and enterprising. The unproductive nature of the soil. the precarious and insufficient rainfall and their poor agricultural resources saved them from the luxury and indolence of the men of the fertile ,plains and fostered in them the great virtues, resourcefulness. courage and perseverance. spirit of social equality. independence and patriotism.

5.1.2. Religious Factor

The second factor was religion. The religion of the Marathas was free from sectarian feelings and class domination and therefore developed a spirit of equality and fraternity. These good qualities were further developed by a religious renaissance which like the Protestant Reformation of Europe "was heterodox in its spirit of Protes. against froms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth and ethical in its preference of a pure heart and the flow of love. to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people. of the masses and not of classes.

At its head. were saints and prophets. poets and philosolphers. who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society. Tailors. carpenters. potters. gardeners. shop-keepers. barbers and even Mahars (scavengers). more than Brahman". The most famous saints of Maharashtra who flourished during this period were Tukaram. Vaman pandit, Eknath and Ramadas. The last mentioned was not only a great saint and philosopher but a great disciple. Sivaji. with a religious zeal for the creation of a Maratha nation to save Hinduism and its sacred institutions. This was further strengthened by that of literature and language. The devotional songs of their saints were composed in the local vernaculars and were sung and appreciated by all like. These created a spirit of homogeneity and paved the way for the growth of a common culture. Thus, as Nadkarni say. there was a strong community of religious literature andsocial life working towards the political regeneration of the country.

5.1.3. Political Factor

The political condtions in the Deccan were also favourable to the rise of the Maratha nation. The Mughal invasion of the Deccan as well as its ultimate subjugation was the chief external cause for the rise of the Maratha state. Many of the sturdy and restless Marathas to whom the patient labour of an agriculturists on a barren soil had no charms. sought service with Sultans of the Deccan and gained their favour. They then, freely exploited the political confusion prevailing in the Deccan, increased their strength and resources by joining one party or the other. This ascendancy was threatened by the progress of the Mughal arms in the Deccan which scattered the military and political talents of the Marathas. So, the Marathas needed new tactics.

As justice Ranade says, "the scattered Power of the Maratha Chief had to be united in a confederacy, animated by a common purpose and sacrificed by a common devotion to the country". It was given to Sivaji, one of the greatest nation builders of the world, to fuse the Marathas into a nation and stare them on their glorious career

5.1.4. Economic Factor

The economic condition of the Deccan since its first conquest by Ala-ud-din Khilji, to the rise of Sivaji was the most deplorable one. The economic urge consequent on economic misery was the root cause of the political revolution that took place in Maharashtra in the first half of the 17th Century. As Rawlinson remarks, "the chief cause of unrest in India is usually economic and it was Shivaji's economic reforms which chiefly recommended him to the people". The masses looked upon Shivaji as their saviour. The depressed material condition of the Marathas was thus the main cause for the rise of the Maratha state under Shivaji and also of its rebirth after his death.

5.2. SIVAJI - HIS CAREER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Sivaji, the Father of the Maratha nation, and a creative genius of the highest order, was the son of Shaji a Maratha Jagirdar and his wife Jijabai. Soon after the birth of Sivaji, Shaji abandoned his wife and child and the desertion drew the mother and child together. Jijabai was a very pious lady and she did a lot to mould the character of her son. Thus, as Justice Ranade remarks, "If ever great men owe their greatness to the inspiration of their mothers, the influence of Jijabai was a factor of prime importance in the making of Sivaji's career and the chief source of his strength. "Dadaji, Kondadev also played an important part in the life of Sivaji.

Tukaram and Ramadas also exerted powerful influence on the life of Sivaji. In his younger days Sivaji mixed freely and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the hill country. Like Ranjit Singh of Punjab. Sivaji grew up rapidly and at the age of 18, he was a fearless leader inspired with a determination to carve out for himself independent empire.

5.2.1. SIVAJI'S CONQUEST-STRUGGLE WITH BIJAPUR

Sivaji began his career of conquest at the early age of 19 by seizing the Bijapur hill fortress of Torna to the south west of Poona. This was followed by the occupation of a number of their important fortresses till the Bijapur Sultan, Mohammed Adil Shah was compelled to take necessary action. Shaji, father of Sivaji, who was in the service of Adil Shah was made a captive and kept as a hostage. But, Sivaji secured his release by diplomatic negotiations with the Mughals and the leading nobles of the Bijapur court.

Since his father's release was conditional, Sivaji kept quiet for sometime, But he soon started on his adventures from 1657 and seized almost the whole of Konkan. By 1657 Sivaji's Kingdom had considerably expanded; and it contained nearly forty hill forts. In the early period of his adventures Sivaji was sometimes forced to resort to cunning and even treacherous murder and because of these some historians have branded him as "Murderous robber chief". But as H.G. Rawlinson points out, "The historians who enlarge upon the enormity of the crime forget the temper", age and the necessities of the situation".

The most famous as well as thrilling event in the struggle between Sivaji and Bijapur during the years 1657-1662, is the defeat and murder of Afzal khan. Afzal Khan was the commander of the forces of Bijapur, sent by the government of Bijapur to punish Sivaji for capturing the Konkan forts. This general boasted that he would bring "Mountain rat in chains". When Sivaji understood that he could not face a huge army, he promised submission to Afzhal Khan and sought an interview with him. The Afghan general consented to this In accordance with the custom of the age, Afzal Khan embraced Sivaji. Sivaji, with the help of his "tiger claws" killed Afzal Khan. The Bijapur forces which were stationed at a distance were scattered in different directions by the Maratha horsemen. In other words the death of Afzal Khan was followed by a "terrible slaughter and plunder of the Bijapur forces, "Never was a victory more decisive, more profitable and more cheaply won". J.N. Sarkar. Historians like Grant Duff, Vincent Smith and others, relying on the hostile accounts of Khafi Khan and some European travelers, accuse Sivahji of "perfidious murder of an invited guest". But J.N. Sarkar after making a thourough study comes to the conclusion that Sevaji committed what Edmyund Burke calls a "preventive murder".

In order to follow up his victory. Sivaji organized an epedition to the Carnatic and captured a number of strong hill fortresses. The Bijapur government realizing the hopelessness of conquering "the mountation rat", ultimately entered into negotiations for peace. Sivaji was recognized as the ruler of the territories in his possession.

5.2.1. Sivaji and the Mughals

Sivaji next turned his attention towards his more formidable enemy Aurangazeb. The Mughal commander. Shayista Khan was sent to capture the rebel, but he did know to tackle the wily foe and retired to Ponafor the rainy season. It was at this moment that Sivaji performed the most daring act which increased his prestige all over Deccan. It also struck terror in the minds of his enemies. Attended by a few trus worthy followers, Sivaji attacked Shayista Khan in his own lodging and the Mughal general narrowly escaped from death, with the loss of his thumb and his son. The attack was a complete success, that added to the prestige of Sivaji.

5.2.2. Attack on Surat

In the year 1664, Sivaji attacked the rich and prosperous city of Surat and obtained more than a crore of rupees through plunder. The English and the Dutch Factories were able to defend themselves and were saved. The attack of Surat which was called "the Mughal Beard" and the failure of Shayista Khan, compelled Aurangaxzab to take action against Sivaji. The Mughal Emperor sent his best generals Jai Singh and Dilir Khan to the Deccan. The Raja, by using skillful diplomacy raised a ring of enemies against Sivaji. Finding himself helpless Sivaji decided to come to terms with jai Singh and entered into the Treaty of Purandar in June 1665.

According to the Treaty of Purandar, Sivaji surrendered 223 of his forts and retained only 12 for himself. His son Sambhjaji was to be created a Panj Hazari Mansabdar and he was to be given a jagir. Sivaji also agreed to help the Mughals in their attack of Bijapur.

In the beginning of 1665, Sivaji was persuaded by Jai Singh to attend the Mughal Court at Agra. But Aurangazeb, with his characteristic folly, insulted Sivaji imprisoned him and converted him into an impeccable foe. But Sivaji proved himself more than a match even to Aurangazeb. He escaped from the Mughal prison, which form one of the most thrilling and dramatic episodes in the Maratha history.

By the year 1670, hostilities once again broke out between the Mughals and the Marathas and Sivaji within no time recovered the forts ceded by him in 1665. He plundered the Mughal territory in the Deccan and looted Surat, a second time. Then followed a period of the most daring and adventuruous raids into the Mughal provinces of Kandesh and Bidar, besides Aurangabad.

In June 1674 to 1680 Sivaji was busy with the invasion of the Carnatic, which Gram Duff calls "the most important expeditions of his life". It was a well executed plan of a brilliant statesman. Sivaji reached Tanjore and successfully claimed his share of his father's Jagir from his brother Venkoji. Later he tookm Jinji and Vellore. The territory annexed by him in the Carnatic yielded much revenue and included many forts.

In the course of these operations, the great leader, a daring adventurer, worn out by years of toil, died of a trifling injury on 5th April, 1680.

5.3. ADMINISTRATION

Shivaji's greatness as an administrater is proved by the fact that he had to bring order out of confusion under difficult circumstances. In the first place, neither the character of the country nor the character of its people was in favour of their establishment of an orderly government. Unfamiliar with nationalistic ideas, the petty tribal leader thought only of their holdings. Moreover, they fought bitterly with one another often indulging freely in plunder and savage murders. The Maratha people were quiet indifferent about administration of the country. Under such difficult circumstance, Sivaji wisely set up a practical form of administration which gave peace and order to the people.

5.4. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Shivaji made a distinction between the Swarajya territory governed by him and the Mughal territory governed by foreign kingdoms outside his Swaraj. He divided his kingdom into four lprovinces and viceroy was appointed for each. The provincial government was based more or less on the model of the central government. The time honoured democratic institution of the village panchayat was preserved and almost all civil disputes were decided by that body. The system of granting jagirs was abolished. Shivaji introduced the system of paying the officers in cash. It was laid down that no office was to be hereditary.

In theory, Sivaji was an autocrate like his contemporaries. He could do what he pleased However the government of the kingdom was conducted by the Raja, aided by a counc of eight ministers called the Ashta Pradhan.

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Write a short note an local government of the Maratha's administration?
2. Write a brief account of Revenue system under Sivaji?

5.4.1. The eight ministers of the council were the following

(1) The Peshwa or Prime Minister whose duty was to look after the general welfare and interest of the state.

(2) The Amatya or Finace Minister whose duty was to check and countersign all puplic accounts of the kingdom in general and the districts in particular

(3) The mantrior of the court chronicler whose duty was to keep diary of the daily doing of the king. He had to record everything that happened at the court.

(4) The Sachiva or the Home Secretary whose duty was to look after the correspondence of the king. He also checked the account of the parganas.

(5) The Sumant or Foreign Secretary who advised the king on matters relating to foreign states and all questions of war and peace.

(6) The Pandit Rao or the Ecclesiastical Head whose duty was to fix dates for religious ceremonies;

(7) The Senapati or commander-in-chief who was in-charge of the recruitment, organization and discipline of the army

(8) The Nyayadish or chief Justice was responsible for civil and military justice".

It must be noted that the Ashta Pradhan was in no sense a Cabinet. Sivaji's ministers were merely his secretaries who could not dictate the policy of the department. The council was only an advisory body whose counsel was not blinding upon him. All the ministers except the Pandit Rao and the Chief Justice had military duties also.

In spite of the efforts of Sivaji, the government established by him did not last long. It was a military organization like that of Alaud-din khillji which was destroyed within a decade of his death. Like Babar, the reign of Sivaji was very short and throughout all his period he had to fight against the enemies. In other words he had no time to consolidate his position. The Maratha society could be reformed by the patient and sustained efforts of welfless workers for years. Sewell considered attempt was made to educate the people of Maharashtra and to improve their intellect and character. In the words of J.N. Sarkar, "these was no well-thought-out and communal improvement, spread of education or unification of the people, either under Sivaji or under the Peshwas". Moreover, a government based, on one man's rule in uncertain and has a fatal effect on administration. As

J.N. Sarkar says, however well-planned the machinery and rules might be, the actual conduct of the administration was marred by inefficiency, sudden change of personal and official corruption-because nobody felt secure of his post or of the due appreciation of his merit".

5.4.2. Revenue System under Sivaji

Sivaji was fully aware that only a sound revenue administrative system could assure the happiness of the peasant. He realised the soundness of Malik-Amber's revenue regulations and introduced them in all their essential principles. But it must be understood that Sivaji was not a slavish imitator. Sovaji introduced a uniform standard of measurement of land and ordered a systematic survey settlement. In the words of J.N. Sarkar, the ryots were not subject to the authority of the zamindars. Deshmuks and Desais who had no right to exercise the powers as a political superior or harass the ryots". The share of the State was originally fixed at 33% but later on, with abolition of a number of extra taxes, the amount was increased by 7%. The old feudal agencies were abolished and the government entered into direct relations with the cultivator.

The State encouraged agriculture. During the time of famine the government advanced money and grain to the cultivators, which were to be paid back in instalments later on. Fryer has condemened the revenue system of Shivaji and according to him there later on. Fryer has condemented the revenue system of Shivaji and according to him there was oppression of the peasants. According to Fryer, "the great fish prey on the little and even Bijapur rulewas milder than that of Sivaji". But he has failed to base his account upon personal observation of Sivaji's system which was humane and beneficient. According to Grant Duff, Shivaji's claim to a high rank in the page of history must be admitted.

The other sources of revenue were customs duties, profits from coinage, Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. The last one was a payment of 10% of the land revenue which Siaji claimed as the Sardeshmuki or chief headman of his country, that is Maharashtra.

There is great difference of opinion regarding the exact nature of Chauth. Justice Ranade believes that this contribution which was based on the same ideas as those ofWellesley's Subsidiary Alliance was a payment for service in the shape of protecting the country and preventing foreign aggression". He says that it had even the support of the protected powers and hence should not be regarded, as a forced military contribution without any legal obligations. G.S. Sardesai holds that it was nothing more than a contribution exacted by a military leader. Finally we have the opinion of J.N. Sarkar who says, "the Chauth was merely a means of buying off one robber and not a subsidiary system for the maintenance of peace and order and against all enemies.

The lands subject to the Chauth cannot therefore be rightly called spheres of influence". But whatever might mean the principles and theory of the Chauth, in actual practice it was only a military contribution paid, so that the Mughal territory could be free from the attack of the Marathas.

5.5. MILITARY ORGANISATION

Sivaji was a military genious. He took pains to put the army on an efficient footing. Therefore he introduced the system of keeping a regular standing army. During the rainy season, the standing army was provided with regular salaries for the whole year. The army was looked after by a number of graded officials. It was divided under three dividsions namely. (1) Infantry (2) Cavalry and (3) Navy.

5.5.1. Infantry

The infantry was divided into regiments, brigades and divisions. The smallest unit was formed by nine soliders who were put under the control of Navik. Over five Naiks was placed a Havaldar and over two or three Havaldars was placed a Jumaldar, over 10 Jumaldars was placed a Hazari and over 17 Hazaris was placed a Sar Naubat.

Both Hindus and Muslims were recruited in the army without any distinction. Soldiers were paid in cash. Those soleiers who showed bravery were rewarded.

The numerous hill forts of Sivaji which played a very important part in Maratha history were well organaised. Garrisons of forts were carefully selected. Every Fort was placed under three officers the Havaldar the Sabnis and the Sar Naubat.

5.5.2. Navy

Sivaji also deserves credit for realizing the importance of the navy. He built a good fleet which was stationed at Kolaba. He checked the power of the Abyssinian pirates of Janjira. It also lundered the rich Mughal ships. Thus, as Nadkarni points out, "Sivaji was a pioneer in the field of Maratha activity and his naval policy bore ample fruits though long after the maratha Alfred had passed away"

Sivaji was very anxious to maintain strict discipline in the army. A woman, female slave, or a dancing girl was forbidden to be taken in the camp. So strict was the great captain's discipline and love of method that any breach of this rule was punished with death. Thus, "Sivaji by his far-sighted reforms guarantied peace and prosperity for his people. ensured the success of his schemes and established his claims to be regarded as one of the greatest constructive geniuses of the world" (Kincaid and Parasnis).

5.6. ESTIMATE OF SIVAJI

In order to appreciate the achievements of Sivaji, one has to understand his difficulties. As Kincaid and Pararsnis rightly point out, "Sivaji has by a curious fate suffered more at the hands of historians than any other character in history. Grant Duff, Vincent Smith and others relying mainly on the hostile evidences have portrayed Sivaji as a murderer and free-looter. IIt is true that Sivaji was free looter, but his free lottting campaigns were inspired by higher motives than mere accumulation of private wealth. Thus, according to some modern defenders of Sivaji, the end justified the means.

Sivaji was a great general and soldier. He met every emergency however sudden with unshaken fortitude. His army organization was a model of efficiency. His greatness as a military genious is proved by his adoption of the methods of warfare best-suited to the natural character of his soldiers, the nature of the country and strength of his enemy.

Sivaji, like Napoleon was a great builder of institutions which contributed largely to the success of the movement initiated by him. The difficult task of organizing the civil administration he did without the aid of any great minister and that too within the short period of his life. Though not a daring innovator, he was never a slavish imitator. His practical genius lay in adopting, Hindu and Muslim institutions to suit his needs.

Kincaid and Pararsnis believe that, "great organizer and military genius that Sivaji was, it is in far-seening statesmanship that he stands supreme". H.A.L. Fisher has rightly emphasized, true statesmanship has in correctly assessing the real strength of the various forces operating in an age or country and then directing them to yield the best result. Judged by this standard, Sivaji deserves to be ranked the greatest statesmen of the world.

Sivaji's greatest achievement was the creation of a powerful nation out of the Marathas who were "scattered like atoms through the kingdoms of the Deccan".

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Briefly explain about the Marthas military organization.

4. Discuss the contribution of Ramaunja in the Bakthi movement.

He taught his men that Hinduism was not dead that even centuries of oppression, could not crush it. It was this spirit which enabled them to carry on the struggle against mighty odds almost a fixed capital, without a regular army. He made them an independent and self reliant people fully conscious of their oneness and high destiny. Thus, as moral force, Sivaji occupied a remarkable and imperishable position in the history of medieval India.

We can therefore conclude with J.N. Sarkar, "States all, empire break up, dynasties became extinct, but the memory of a true, "here as king" like Sivaji remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race".

5.7. BHAKTI MOVEMENT – SIKHISM

The most remarkable and noteworthy fact of Indian history is the vitality Hinduism. But Hinduism suffered much at the hand of the Muhammadan conquerors. They used force to convert the Hindus to Islam. The Muhammadan rulers brutally butchered the Hindu priests, destroyed the temples and even closed many Hindu schools which imparted Sankrit learning. Yet, even under the onslaughts and oppressions, the torch had been kept alight.

The beginning of the Hindu Renaissance was started by the great philosopher Sandara. He revived Hinduism basing it on a logical monistic system in which an attempt was made to reconcile the paths of Jnana (knowledge), Karma(action) and Bhakti (devotion) Since Sankara's philosophy emphasized the path of Jnana, it failed to evoke hearty response from common people. At this time the cosmopolitan ways of Islam began to penetrate into the social and religious systems of Hindus, liberalizing their outlook-Islam even threatened the very philosophical basis of Hinduism. The serious cirses faced by Hinduism with the advent of Islam was felt by some Hindu reformers and they tried their best to make Hinduism a living force.

In the wake of these developments, the Hindu reformers of the period led a twofold movement to defend Hinduism. With a view to strengthen the social bonds, the Hindu reformers reinterpreted the Vedas and other scriptures, the reputed school of Vedic scholars led by Sayana and Madhavan in Vijayanagar empire and Visweswara and Kulluka in Bengal wrote elaborate commentaries on the Vedas and Smritis. The message of Hinduism was carried to the common people by translating the Puranas and other religious works into vernaculars. The Hindu religious reformers of the medieval age also paid much emphasis on the path of Bhakti. They preached and propagated the unity of God-head and fundamental equality of all religions. They stressed and stipulated that the dignity of men depended not on his birth. These reformers even protested against, the formalities of religion and domination of the priests and emphasized simple devotion and faith as the means of salvation. That is they popularised strong monotheism, absolute surrender to God and a direct realization of God through devotion. K.M. Panikkar thus aptly says, "Essentially therefore the Bhakti movement was a new interpretation of Hinduism in terms of Islam's monotheism and egalitarianism, but its religious doctrine was that of the Bhagavadgita whose summons to surrender all and take refuge in God, came to have a special significance in the circumstances of the Time". Another important feature of medieval religion was its escapist character. It emphasized to surrender everything and seek refuge in God. It attracted the attention of the people because people were enslaved; their spirit was weakened and so they found solace in other worldliness. The doctrine of Bhakti provided security to the bleeding soul of Hinduism in North India during the period of Muslim occupation".

One of the important earliest exponents of the Bhakti school of religious thought was the great Vaishnava teacher Ramaunja, who flourished in the early part of the 12th century A.D. The age which saw the advent of Ramanuja was comparatively peaceful politically and socially. South India was free from the political disturbance of the north. Ramanuja was born at Sriperumbudur. His parents are Kesavaraya and Kantimati. He had his early education under Yedavaprakasa, a teacher of Advita. Soon differences in opinion arose between him and his teacher over the interpretation of a certain passage. He left his teacher and came down to kanchi to lead the life of a householder. Ramanuja preached the religion of Bhakti as given expression to it by the Alwars. He maintains that Bhaktimarga is the direct means of knowing Brahman. He meets the demands of metaphysics and satisfies the supreme call of love by its theory of "Bhaktirupena jnana" or "Jnana turned into Bhakti". Bhakti according to him is the contemplation of God unbroken, as the smooth and ceaseless flow of oil. Ramanuja does not use the world Bhakti in the popular sense of blind Bhakti faith. Here it occupies or implies loving meditation for its own sake, a feature that occupies a significant place in the Upanishadic

Distinction between Bhakti and Prapathi. He maintained that Gnanayoga and karmaypga are necessary to prepare the mind for Bhaktiyoga. Bhakti is meditation on God whereas prapathi is complete self surrender to God. The religions of

Bhakti which Ramanuja ministered to the religious cravings of all the people is without distinctions of caste or colour. He declared that devotion knew no caste, colour or special social status and therefore salvation could be attained by all without consideration of caste. Ramanuja showed equal solicitude regarding the position of untouchables. Thus he abolished all the distinction of caste, creed and social status. To the eye of a true Vaishnava, all beings are manifestations of God's power and they are all equal.

Another great Hindu reformer was Ramananda (14th century A.D.) who followed Ramanuja School. His religious activities bridged the Bhakti movement of the South and the North. He rejected caste and admitted men of all classes as his disciples. He preached the doctrine of Rama Bhakti in Hindi. Mira Bai, a Rajput princess became his disciple and embodied his doctrine in Hindi and Gujarati lyrics.

Vallabhacharya, an exponent of the Krishna cult was another famous saint of the Bhakti movement. He was norn in 1497 near Benares of a Telugu Brahmin family. Even in his early life, he showed his genius. After completing his education, he traveled widely. He visited the Vijayanagar court during Krishnadeva Raya's reign, participated in a public debate and scored a victory over Saivites.

He settled in Benaras after visiting Mathura between Brahman and the individual soul and pointed out Bhakti as the means for the latter to escape its bondage. He laid stress on self-control and renunciation. His doctrine came to be known as Pushtimarga. He advised his successors not to stress the physical side of Krishna's sports.

Chaitanya was the greatest saint of the Bhakti movement. He was born in a learned Brahmin family of Nadia in Bengal in 1485. At the age of twenty four, he became an ascetic. He spent his time to preach the message of love and devotion. Like his predecessors, he too denounced caste and proclaimed the brother hood of man. He selected his followers from the lower class and from Muslims. His message was: "if a creature worships Krishna and serves the Guru he is free from the bonds of illusion and attains the feet of Krishna".

The religion of devotion or Bhakti was preached by Namadeva and Gnanesvar in Maharastra. Namadeva, flourished in the first half of the 15th century, belonged to the caste of tailors. He believed in the unity of God-head and stated that salvation could be attained only through the love of God.

Kabir, a significant saint of the Bhakti movement of the 14th century condemned caste, polytheism and idol worship. He held that God was one and tried his best to bring a harmony between Hinduism and Islam. He preached a religion of love which would promote unity among all classes and creeds. To him "Hindu and Turk were pots of the same clay; Allah and Rama were but different names". Thus the Bhakti movement has left its own impression on the history of India.

5.8. LET US SUM UP

This lesson explain about the Marathas administration. The popular maxim of Indian history that "Un productive lands and difficult terrain reduce brave and sturdy warriors" is equally applicable to the Marathas. Politically speaking, the ground for establishment of an independent maratha state was prepared by the advance of the mughal armies in the south. The fall of Khardesh, the gradual disappearance of Ahmadnagar and the creation of mughal viceroyalty in the Deccan affected every aspect of Maratha life, which induced an awakening among the Marathas as a nation under the leadership of shivaji and others that followed him. Shivaji's revenue system was based on the principles followed by malik Amber in the Ahamadnagar kingdom.

The two most important taxes in the Maratha taxation system were chauth and sardeshmukhi. The administration of justice was of a primitive kind, Shivaji maintained a regular standing army. The army insisted of both Hindus and Muslims and no distinction was made. In addition to this Bakthi movement philosophical concept had been fully enunciated in the Upanishads and subsequently, the Bahagavad Gita emphasized love and devotion as pathways to God.

It can thus be seen that the Bakthi cult was as widespread movement that embraced the whole of the subcontinent of India for several centuries. The moving spirit were Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Others. They tried to revival of Hinduism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

5.9. KEY WORDS

Diwan	-	Secretary
R.C	-	auditor and accountant.
Sardeshmukih	-	Chief headman
MulkI-qdim	-	Old territory.
Swaraj	-	Own kingdom

5.10ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	**Refer section No.5.2.**
For Question No.2	**Refer section No.5.2.2.**
For Question No.3	**Refer section No.5.3.**
For Question No.4	**Refer section No.5.5**

5.11.BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **K.P. Jayaswal.,** - History of India
2. **R.C. Majundar.,** - The maratha Supremacy.
   History of Freedom Movement in India.
   British paramountacy and Indian Renaissance.
   An Advanced History of India.
3. **D.S. Sharma.,** - Hinduism Through the Ages.
4. **G.S. Sardesai.,** - New History of the Marathas, 3 Vols

5.12. QUESTION AND EXERCISES

1. **Write an essay on the military administration of Shivaji?**
2. **Examine the Contribution of Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva to Hindu revivalism- Discuss.**

LESSON - 6

THE COMING OF EUROPEANS - PORTUGUESE – DUTCH -FRENCH - ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY – ANGLO FRENCH RIVALRY IN CARNATIC ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH SUPREMACY.

Space of Hints

INTRODUCTION

India had trade relations with the countries of the West from time immemorial. During the Middle Ages, there was practically no direct contact between Europe and India, since the trade took place in the three main routes through the Middle East. The following were the three routes: (1) the Mediterranian by way of Oxus, the Caspian and Black Sea (2) the middle through Syria to the Mediterranian and (3) the southern by sea to Egypt and then to Europe by way of the Nile.

"The Volume of that trade was considerable and it contributed a great deal not only to the wealth of Venice and the other cities engaged in it, but to the whole economy of Europe". When the advance of the Turks in the 15th and 16th centuries blocked all the three routes, the loss was severe and the need for the fourth route to India was felt. From the years between 1418 and 1460, a succession of Portuguese sea captains, inspired and trained by Prince Henry the Navigator, crept further and further down the Western shore of Africa. In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz was carried by storms past the Cape of Good Hope.

His explorations pointed the way which in ten years, was followed by another Portuguese navigator named Vasco-da-Gama. In 1497 Vasco-da-Gama sailed form Lisbon and following the route of Diaz, reached the famous port of Calicut on 17th May, 1498. "Perhaps no event during the Middle Ages had such far reaching repercussions on the civilized world as the opening of the sea-route to India".

The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, British, Danes and French and throughout the 17th century the number of European factories and settlement in the East, increased. A bitter contest among these trading companies was inevitable as the object of their ambition was the same. There was a triangular contest during the first-half of the 17th century between the Portuguese and the Dutch, between the Portuguese and the English and between the Dutch and the

English. By the early 19th century, the British East India Company had virtualy pushed out its rivals and dominated most of the Sub-continent.

The struggle between Britain and France for commercial and colonial supremacy continued throughout the eighteenth century. India was one of the theatres of these wars. For nearly twenty years, the Carnatic the name given by the Europeans to the coromandal coast became the scene of a long drawn contest between the French and the English which led to the ultimate overthrow of the French power in India. As Alfred Lyall points out, "the story of Indian contest is but an episode of the grand international drama which played out in the next fifty years with many changes of scenes and character".

At the time when the struggle opened in India, the headquarters of the French settlement was Pondicherry with subordinate factories of Masulipatnam, Karaikkal, Mahe, Surat and Chandranagore and various other places; the principal settlements of the English were at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, Now, both of them were anxious to oust the oust the other.

The First Carnatic War was an extension of the Anglo-French War in Europe. The declaration of the War of Austrian Succession in Europe in 1740 gave the signal for the conflict between the French and the English in India. In the words of Voltaire, "The first cannon shot fired in our land was to set the match to all batteries in America and in Asia".

The French authorities, both in Europe and India at first tried hard to maintain neutrality in India. Duplex, the Governor of Pondicherry, opened direct negothiations with the English authorities for this purpose. But the authorities in England declined to accept the proposal. So, their representatives in India were unable to guarantee any neutrality.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this chapter the students will able to

1. Identify the various Europeans came to India.
2. Analyse the importance of Portuguese settlement.
3. Understand the Dutch Enterprise.
4. Explain the English East India company and its development.
5. Understand the establishment of English supremacy.

UNIT STRUCTURE:

6.1. Rise and fall of the Portuguese power in India Portuguese settlement in India.
6.1.1. Francisco de Almeida.
6.1.2. Alfanso de Albuquerque
6.1.3. Causes of the failure of the Portuguese Empire in India.
6.2. The Dutch Enterprise
6.2.1. Down fall of the Dutch
6.3. The English East India Company its Foundation and Early Development.
6.3.1. The circum stances and the foundation.
6.3.2. Constitution.
6.3.3. From the great mughals and others.
6.3.4. The settlement at madras.
6.3.5. The settlement and development of Calcutta.
6.3.6. Government and organization of company's factories.
6.4. Carnatic wars
6.4.1. The First Carnatic war (1746-48)
6.4.2. The Second Carnatic war (1749-1754)
6.4.3. The Third Carnatic war (1758-1763)
6.4.4. Causes of French Failure
6.4.5. Duplex Career and Achievements.
6.4.6. Causes for his failure
6.4.7. Estimate of Duplex
6.5. Let us sum up
6.6. Key words
6.7. Answer for CYP Questions
6.8. Books for Further Reading
6.9. Questions/Exercises

6.1. RISE AND FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE POWER IN INDIA PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

Vasco-da-Gama was well received by the Hindu ruler of calicut, bearing the hereditary title of Zamorin. He developed commercial relations with friendly

Hindu Princes, but his arrival excited the opposition of the Arab traders who contributed largely to the prosperity of the Zamorin as well as the Raja of Cochin. He was forced to return to Lisbon in 1499. The Portuguese lost no time in taking advantage of their discovery. They fitted out several expeditions and established a number of factories of trading centres at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore.

But the Portuguese instead of continuing themselves within the limits of legitimate trade became unduly ambitious to establish their supremacy in the Eastern seas; for the trade between Europe and Asia was profitable one. The Portuguese had controlled it for a long time and would not allow anyone to share in it. They also began to take part in the political intrigues among the States of Peninsular India and entered into alliance with the enemies of the ruler of Calicut Expansion under the Portuguese Governors. The period of Portuguese supremacy produced some great names, especially those of Almeida (1505-9) and Albuquerque (1505-15).

6.1.1. Francisco de Almeida (1505-9)

Francisco de Almeida was the first Governor of the Portuguese possessions in India. The system of annual voyages was now given up and Almeida remained as governor till 1509. His policy was generally pacific avoiding annexation as far as possible. In other words, he wanted to confine the Portuguese activity purely to commercial transactions. He felt that the Portuguese did not have sufficient manpower to maintain a large empire in India. He insisted mainly on their commercial supremacy. This policy is known as the "blue water" policy. Almeida set out his views clearly in his letter to his King Emmanuel in which he stated "The greater the number of fortresses you hold, the weaker will be your power; let all our forces be on the sea, because if we should not be powerful at sea (which may be Lord forbid) everything will at once be against... Let it be known for certain that as you may be powerful at sea you will hold India as yours and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore".

By scoring victories over the East Africans and the Zamorin, Almeida made the Portuguese influence supreme in the East. Though the Portuguese suffered a defeat at the hands of the Eguptian fleet near Chaul on the Bombay coast in 1508, Almeida scored a creditable victory in the following year of Diu over the combined flee of the Egyptians, the Zamorin and the Sultan of Gujarat. The great victory secured to Christendom the naval supremacy in Asia and turned the Indian Ocean for next century into a Portuguese Sea.

6.1.2. Alfonso de Albuquerque (1509-15)

Francisco de Almeida was succeeded by Alfonso de Albuquerque. It was Albuquerque who laid the foundation of Portuguese power in India. He first visited India in 1503 as the commander of a squadron. In the year 1509, he was appointed Governor of Portuguese affairs in India. Under him, the Portuguese established their hold on the West Coast of India, at Goa and from here they gradually be expanded into South-East

Asia and China.

Albuquerque realised the worth of the native soldiers. He tried to increase their efficiency by training them on western lines, thus anticipating the work of the great French Governor, Francois Dupleix. Albuquerque employed Indians in civil and military officers, Schools were established in Goa on Western lines. But he was very cruel towards the Muslims and excluded them from office. He anticipated the reforms of lord William Bentinck by abolishing the practice of Sati or the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Albuquerque sought to extend Portuguese influence in India colonising some selected areas with a mixed population formed out of the inter-marriage of the Portuguese with Indian women. For this purpose he encouraged mixed marriages. But this policy was a failure. The children of such marriage were week' corrupt and greedy persons. In the words of whiteway. " Portugal was the earliest intruder into the East, and the East has resented the intrusion by absorbing and degrading the intruder".

6.1.3 Causes of the failure of the Portugues Empire in India

The Portuguese were masters in the East for nearly a century and quarter. Though the earliest "intruder into the East" they were far from popular with the people they ruled and there was discontentment. Many of them took to robbery and piracy, though a few adopted more honorable careers. So their power declined as quickly as it had risen.

Several causes led to their decline. Firstly, their religious intolerance produced the hostility of the Indian powers which became too strong for them to overcome. The Protuguese introduced the inquisitor into India and they committed atrocities on those who were not Christians. In 1540, all the Hindu temples in. Goa were destroyed under the orders of their king. Secondly, their clandestine practices in trade ultimately went against them. Thirdly, the discovery of Brazil in America drew the colonising activities of Portugal to the West. Fourthy, the

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Trace the Progress of the Portuguese power in India and account for its decline.

destruction of the Vijayanagar Empire in the year 1565 also affected the fortune of the Portuguess possessions in India. The Portuguese had generally been on friendly terms with the Hindu Rajas, who took most of the horses they imported, but when Vijayanagar fell and the city become desolate, the foreign traders had no market for their goods and trade decayed. Thus "Goa rose and fell simultaneously with the rise and fall of the Vijayanagar Empire". Lastly, the Portugueses failed to complete successfully with the other European Companies who had come in their wake. The Dutch and English powers were more than a match for the Portuguese.

6.2 The Dutch Enterprise

With a view of getting access to the spice markets in South East Asia, the Dutch sailors undertook several voyages from 1569 and they succeeded in forming the Duthch East India company in 1602. The Dutch soon established settlements in Archipelago and then turned, their attention towards India also. They founded a factory at Masulipatnam in 1605 and built their firs fort on the main land of India at Pulicat in 1610. They, then established factories along the Coromanda Coast, it was very much nearer to the Dutch settlement in Ceylon, they made it the head quarters on the Coromandal Coast.

The success of the Dutch was in the first instance due to the national character of their enterprise. They were mercantile and maritime people and their commercial policy was more vigorous than those states ruled by a landed aristocracy. The Dutch were practical men and almost from the beginning they had a clear conception of their ideas. They had great men like Coen and Van Diemen whose energy and ability were responsible for the success of Dutch in the East Moreover, there were no supreme power to check their progress. These were the factors that enabled the Dutch to spread their influence in the East.

6.2.1 Downfall of the Dutch

In the words of P.E. Roberts, "The Dutch power in India was largely jeopardized on Euro pear battlefields". From the middle of the 17th century, the Dutch were constantly engaged in warfare in European first with and with the French. This caused great financial difficulties and weakened their maritime power. The Dutch East India Company, like its namesake the British Company in India, settled dwon to make as much money as possible. They did not pay the slightest attention to the welfare the people They oppressed them and extorted as much tribute as possible out of them. The Company was thoroughly inefficient.

“The Dutchmen who went out to serve their Company belonged to the same type of the British Company in India” They were too much engrossed in European affairs. Moreover, they were primarily interested in the islands of South-East Asia. Thus the Dutch in spite of being great as empire builders and merchants, failed as colonial rulers.

6.3 ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY – FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The year 1600 is significant in the history of India, for in that year far away from India a mainbody of the merchants of London secured from Elizabeth I,Queen of England, a Royal Charter. The Royal Charter which constituted the East India Company was essentially the child of the “Elizabethan age”(W.W. Hunter). The company was named “ The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading Company soon changed its character. By 1765, it was territorial power moving fast towards the creation of an empire which was bound to control the destinies of India for about two centuries that followed. The circumstance leading to foundation of this company, its early constitution and development as a trading concern and its ultimate transformation into a territorial power are obviously topics of great importance in the history of Modern India, which we are going to discuss in detail here.

6.3.1 The circumstances and the foundation

For long, England had been jealous of the growing riches of the Portuguese in the East. But the Popish Bulls had prevented her from developing her contacts with the East. The attempts of the English sailors to find out a new sea route to India had failed. But in the year 1591, the successful return of Ralf Fitch from his travels through India and Burma and the stories of his interesting experiences thrilled the whole nation.

It was under these circumstances that the situation for the British merchants to prepare their plan for trade with the East began to mature on 25 September 1599. Some prominent merchants of London held a meeting at Founder’s Hall. The committee submitted a petition to the Queen to incorporate them into a Company for the purpose of trading with Indies. On 31 December 1600, the Queen issued a Royal Charter to the petitioners as required. Thus was the East India Company founded.

Check Your Progress Questions

2. Write a short note on the Dutch Enterprise?

The Charter authorized the company to trade and traffic freely "into and from the East Indies, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa and into from all islands, ports cities town and places of Asia, Africa, America or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza to the Straights of Magellan". The charter was granted for a period of fifteen years but it could be ended at any time with in two year notice.

6.3.2 The Constitution

In this Charter, the constitution of the Company we duly laid down and its power and privileges were defined. The Company was to be a regulated Company. It was to be different from a Joint Stock Company. Its members were to subscribe to each trading expedition to the East and the profits of these expeditions were to be distributed among the members in proportion in their contribution. The entire business of the Company was to be controlled a Governor assisted by twenty the Company was given extensive powers, to issue orders or ordinances and to make by-laws the Company had the judicial authority to punish its servants for their offences by imprisonment or fine.

The monopoly granted to the company was obviously extensive. But it considered according to those circumstances. It had its own justification. These were the days when the days when the maritime trade with the far lying countries like India was very much difficult owing to the trade rivalries among the different European countries. The sea routes also wee infested by pirates and the trade interests had generally to be secured against them, and finally secured against them ad finally those were times when international diplomacy had not evolved. Under, all these circumstances, obviously and extensive monopoly and power had to be granted to the Company.

"British authority in India (1600 – 1765) may be traced, historically to a two-fold source. It is derived partly form the British Crown and Parliament and partly from the Great Mughals and other native rulers of India". From 1660 to 1765 the members of East India Company were primarily traders. But as time passed this trading concern progressively assumed territorial power and by the year 1765 it territorial power was more or less established. In 1603, James I succeeded Queen Elizabeth I to the English throne. The Stuart ruler renewed the Company's Charter in 1609. It was renewed 'for ever' thought it could be revoked at any time by three years notice.

Six years after this, some additional powers were granted to the Company ofr enforcing the material law in order to maintain discipline on long voyages. The charter of 1623 enhaced the Company's powers of controlling and punishing its servants yet further. However, when Charles I succeeded James I as King of England, the Company had to face in the East Indies and a very serve trade competition with the Dutch, which reduced its profits considerably. In 1635, Charles I permitted Sir William Courten to set up a new trading body for the purpose of trading with the East Indies under the name of Courten's Association, also called the Assada Company. The resulted in a keen competition between the New company and the Old company which proved disastrous in many ways.

During the time of Oliver Cromwell, fortune smiled once again over the Old company. Cromwell supported its interests and by the Treaty of West minister, signed in 1584, a sum of 85,000 was exacted from the massacre of amboyna. In 1657, he granted a new Charter whereby a union was formed between Courten's Association and the Company. Oliver Cromwell died in 1658 and in 1660 the Restoration was made by calling back Charles II to ascend the English throne. The year 1660, was a great turning point in the history of the Company From now onwards, the company developed it prosperity by leaps and bounds and as well as changed its character from a purely trading concern to a territorial powers. The transfer of the Company of the land of Bombay by charles II in 1699 was only one of the steps which changed the Company's character. The commercial difficulties of the Company in a strange land, led often to war and consequent territorial advance. The right to coin money at Bombay was given to the Company in 1679.

The next significant steps towards this direction was the charter of 1683 which gave power o the Company to raise military force within a prescribed limit and to declare war on or make peace with nations like America, Africa or Asia. While granting these powers, however, as A.B. Keith comments; the essential principle was asserted that, "the acquisition of sovereignty by subjects of the Crown and not in their own right." In 1688, the company was authorized to establish a municipality and a Mayor's Court at Madras. the Company was also authorized to appoint admirals and other set officers and it could also now coin money. The grants, made in 1687 were thus another significant steps towards the establishment of the Companies territorial character. After the Glorious Revolution (1688), several factors intervened to check the further progress of the

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Explain the early developments of the English east India Company.

Company. The wings who now came power were no supports of monopolies and therefore a new company came into existence. In India too the Company challenged the Mughal authority and consequently had to suffer severe moral and material losses. The matters came to a head when in 1691, the Parliament decided that the trade with East Indies could be best carried on only by a Joint-stock company enjoying extensive power and therefore, it was proposed that the two concerns might be amalgamated.

However, at the end of the year 1708, the Old Company wanted to surrender its authority due to its inability to continue. In the year 1709 it surrendered it charter to Queen Anne and thus was the new company created by merging the two concerns, under the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading into the East Indies". It is an interesting fact to note that the new company came into existence almost at the same time as the decline of the Mughal power in India commenced after the death of Aurangazeb in 1707. The practice of securing more power and privileges in return for loans, took a serious turn after the creation of the New Company. Thus by the Acts of 1711, 1730, 1744 etc, many privileges were granted in return for huge loans from the Company. The Charters of 1709, 1726 and 1758 gave the company certain powers in connection with the regulation of military forces in India, distribution or booty and the occupation of the new territories etc. Thus, the Company increasingly got power and privileges from the Crown and the Parliament of England, ultimately establishing its territorial and political character by the year 1765.

6.3.3 From the Great Mughals and Others

The Company's authority in India, as already mentioned was derived as much from the British Crown and Parliament as from the Great Mughals and other native rulers of India. A sketch of its authority driven from the native powers of India, may also be there.

In India, in the beginning, the Company could develop its contacts only with the subordinates of the Mughal Empire. But here too, the influence of the Portuguese prevented their being treated as cordially as the English merchants desired. In 1611, the efforts of james I of England through William Hawkins, to obtain form the Mughal Emperor the necessary permission for regular trade came to nothing although the local authorities of Surat did grant the English merchants some trading privileges. In 1615 – 1619. Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador of the English merchants some trading privileges. In 1615 – 1615. Sir Thoma roe as ambassador of the English King came in order to secure a treaty settlement with the Mughal Emperor. But he too failed in securing anything more than a permission from prince Khurram, the viceroy of Gujarat, to manage the affairs of the English factory and trade free from the local interference. As Godwell says, "In fact the English merchants could secure no worth while trading position in India so long as the Portuguese influence at the Mughal Court continued strong. It was only after the decline of this influence that the Company began to gather strength.

6.3.4 The Settlement at Madras

Although the English trade at Surat was established right from the beginning, yet it was not there the company secured its first territorial authority. It was a Nayak subordinate to Chandragiri, the local chief of Wandiwash, who in 1639, came to the Company's help an empowered it to govern Madras, build a fortress there and mint money on the condition that the Company paid to the chief fifty percent of the revenues and customs of the Madras port Thus, in September 1641, the Company's head quarter son the Coromandal Coast were established at a station named as Fort St. George. Regarding the divisions of the customs a re-adjustment was made in 1658, whereby it was decided that hence for the Company would pay a fixed sum of 480 pagodas as the share of the ruler of Golconda. Later it was raised to 12,000 pagodas. In 1687, Golconda was conquered by Aurangazeb but the power and privileges of the English Company still continued infact. in 1683 the Company another of three villages adjoining Madras and in 1720 five more villages were granted to it, the later though were resumed by the local authorities there years after. In 1717 as a result of the mission of John Surman to the court of Emperor Farukhaiyar, the Company's right of these villages was confirmed .But this confirmation was of no use because the total authorities refused to honour it.

6.3.5 The settlement and Development at Calcutta

In Bengal, for a considerable time, the Company obtained on effective sovereignty anywhere. Of course in 1658 it secured certain trade privileges from Shah Shuja. In 1678, the Governor renewed the existing grant with the Emperor's approval but a permission from the Emperor himself could be obtained only in 1610. Since the local authorities gave constant trouble to the company, it declared a war on the Mughals. Peace was resorted in 1690 as a result of the Bombay authorities and now the Company secured an imperial grant under which it was free from all dues in return for an annual payment of 40,000 rupees. In August 1690, the Company established a settlement at Sutanati, a site where the Presidency of Calcutta developed. The factory was fortified in 1696 and in 1698, the Company secured the Zamindari rights over the there villages of Sutanati, Calcutta and Govindapur in consideration of the payment of 12,900 rupees a year. The name Fort William was given to the fortified factory which in 1700 became the headquarters of a Presidency. Even though the Company enjoyed privileges here in certain respects, its authority at Calcutta was rather low to that of at Madras. Thus for instance down to 1757 it enjoyed no right to mint coins at the former place.

The decline of imperial authority helped the Company in many ways. After the inconclusive defeat of Siraj-ud-daula before the Battle of Plassey, the Company forced on him a formal treaty in February 1757, whereby the Company's existing privileges were confirmed, it was further authorized to fortify and coin its own money later on, after the Battle of plassey. When Siraj-ud-daula was removed and in his place Mir Jafar was raised to the Nawabship of Bengal. the Company consolidated its position.

Yet further as a result of the grants made by the latter The Company's sovereignty in Calcutta was recognized and it was granted sufficient land so as to enable it to maintain a military force. The new Nawab also accepted a resident of the Company in his court. Later on in 1760. Mir Kasim replaced Mir Jaffar. From the new Nawab, the Company secured further territorial powers, securing the districts of Burdwan, Chittagong and Midnapur. It is clear therefore the grants made by the local authorities the Company's sovereignty over Calcutta and the three districts mentioned above was complete though it was subject to nominal sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor.

6.3.6 Organization of Company's Factories

In this sub division it would be advisable to have a short sketch of the government and organization of its factories, in India. Each on the Company's factories in Inida was generally a small colony place enclosing within itself the necessary warehoused, a small colony of merchants and the Company's officers and servants who were classified as writers factors and merchants. The Servants of the Company were poorly paid. A merchant not only 40 per annum. They were however, duly compensated by a full freedom allowed to them to trade and traffic in India entirely on their own account. This practice continued so long as the

Company was a commercial concern. Each of these factories was governed by Governor-in-Council, the Governor also being known as the President. The Governors though being an executive head of the factory, enjoyed all his powers only in his council, the members of which were checked as well as advised the governor in his administrative activities and this practice having been necessitated to keep the Governor in check.

6.4.1 The First Carnatic War (1746 – 48)

The First Carnatic War was an extension of the Anglo-French War in Europe. The declaration of the War of Austrian Succession in Europe in 1740 gave the signal for the conflict between the French and the English in India. In the words of Voltaire, "The first cannon shot fired in our land was to set the match to all batteries in America and in Asia". The French authorities, both in Europe and India at first tried hard to maintain neutrality in India. Duplex, the Governor of Pondicherry, opened direct negothiations with the English authorities for this purpose. But the authorities in England declined to accept the proposal. So, their representatives in India were unable to guarantee any neutrality.

Troubles began in 1741, with the capture of French ships by the English navy under Barnett. Dupleix sent an urgent appeal to La Bourdonnais, the French Governor of Mauritius for help. The arrival of La Bourdonnais changed the course of the war. There was a skirmish between the two fleets in 1746, and the commander of the English ships unable to engage in a serious contest with the French, sailed to Hugli, leaving the whole Madras coast at the mercy of the French squadron. The French forces besieged Madras both by land and sea. Nicholas, the Governor of Madras had to surrender after a brave resistance to the French forces.

It has been aptly remarked that, "The English had so far displayed and amazing incapacity to fight the French on land or sea, and fortune seemed to smile upon the efforts of Dupleix". After the surrender of Madras, the two Frenchmen began to quarrel over the fate of Madras. La Bourdonnais decided to ransom the town to the English on their promise to pay Rs. 40,000 to the French Company, but Dupleix refused to agree to this. But ultimately Dupleix's voice prevailed and La Bourdonnais was sent back to France. It was one of the misfortunes of the French in India. On the departure of La Bourdonnais. Dupleix repudiated the treaty concluded by La Bourdonnais, by which Madras was seized and took many of the English as prisoners to Pondicherry.

Check Your Progress Questions

4. Discuss the impact of the Carnatic wars?

But the greatest surprise of the war was yet in store. Anwar-ud-din, the newly appointed Nawab of the Carnatic was not a silent spectator of the contest that was raging within his kingdom. When Madras was besieged by the French, the English sought the protection of the Nawab Anwar-ud-din, through his role of protector asked Dupleix to raise the siege of Madras. Dupleix silenced the Nawab saying that he was taking Maduras only to place it in his hands. The infuriated Nawab sent and army under his eldest son Mahfuz Khan against the French force besieging Madras. Dupleix was first determined to employ every art, to exhaust every device, to induce the Nawab to forego his claim, and to avert the hostilities with him" but hostilities could not be prevented .

A small French army consisting of 230 Europeans and 700 Indian soldiers under Captain Paradis met a large India army of 10,000 under Mahfuz Khan at St. Thome on the banks of the river Adayar and defeated it. The victory of Captain Paradis amply demonstrated the superiority of disciplined Europeans over the native soldiers. In the words of Dodwell, "the importance of the battle of Adayar lies in the fact it revealed the helplessness of ill disciplined Indian army against a small body of trained Europeans." Dupleix was not satisfied with the mere capture of Madras. For the next eighteen months, he directed his efforts to the capture of Fort St. David, but did not succeed. An English squadron under Rear Admiral Boscowen was equally unsuccessful in the siege of Pondicherry. during June October 1748. it has been described a s " a conspicuous success for Dupleix and conspicuous failure for the English."

The First Carnatic war came to an end with the termination of hostilities in Europe. The Treaty of Aix la-Chapelle (1748) brought the Austrian War of succession to a conclusion. Under the terms of the Treaty, Madras was restored to the English, and the French got back Louisberg which the French had lost to North America. "Dupleix's work was undone. For him, it was a tragedy, the fruit of his labours thrown away, and for the time being his aims were frustrated."

6.4.2 The Second Carnatic War (1759 – 1754)

The Treat of Aix-la-Chapelle was not the last act in the drama of Anglo French conflict in India. It was simply the close of one act and second followed with in a year. Fortune favoured Dupleix, and placed before him an unique opportunity. The disputed succession at Arcot and Hyderabad offered him another change to strike against the English. When the Aged Nizam, Asaf Jah died, the vacant throne became the bone of contention between his second son, Nasir Jung and his grandson Muzaffar Jung. Similarly, there was a succession dispute toe the throne of the Carnatic after the death of Nawab Anwar-ud-din. In other words, the French appointed Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung to the vacant thrones of Arcot and Hyderabad respectively. Thus, the French acquired immense influence in the South. The English at Madras were driven to support the other rival candidates Mahmud Ali and Nasir Jung as a measure of self Protection.

In 1751, Mahmud Ali and his alies, the English were besieged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib and the French Dupleix's candidate, the new Nizam, Muzaffar Jung was killed a few years later in a fight, Here atleast the French could have kept aloof. But the French officers Bussy over-looked the claims of Muzaffar's infant son and placed on the throne Salabat-Jung.

Hitherto, the English had given but half-hearted support, to their allies, but the success of the French awakened them to a sense of danger. From now onwards Duleix's fortune began to wane. The situation at Trichinopoly was hopeless, for the force at the command of the English was inadequate for its relief. But the appearance of Robert Clive whom Pitt the Elder applauded as "heaven-born-general", marker a turning point in the war. Robert Clive gave the first proof of his genius by proposing, and approved by Governor Saunders; the of attacking Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital. With only two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys, he occupied Arcot without any serious opposition. The siege of Arcot is a memorable episode in Indian History. As he foresaw, Chanda-sahib sent a relieving force from Trichnopoly to recapture his capital. For fifty three days. Clive heroically defended the city till the besieging force withdrew. Clive followed his success by scoring two more brilliant victories at Arni and Kaveripakam. Trichinopoly was relieved. Chanda Sahib was forced to surrender to the Raja of Tanjore who had treacherously murdered him.

Dupleix's high hopes were now deashed to the ground. Still he worked undaunted by recent reverses. But the French authorities at home were thoroughly tied of Dupleix and decided to recall him. The French government sent Godeheu, to supersede Dupleix. This was a serious blunder committed by the French Government and the removal of Dupleix removed the chief obstacle for the English in the South. Godheu then opened negotiation with the English, and concluded the treaty of Pondicherry in January (1755). 1) The English and the French both agreed not to interfere in the quarrels of the native prices 2) Both the

Check Your Progress Questions

5. Give a critical account of the Duplex.

nations retained their respective positions 3) The only concession contemplated was that the English should receive a town in the Northern Circar, the whole of which Bussy had managed to secure.

The terms of the treaty of Pondicherry have been regarded by Colonel Maiteson to have been in the French point of view "disgraceful". Dupleix blamed Godeheu that, the latter had "signed the ruin of the country and the dishonour of the nation", when the circumstances were turning in their favour. The Frency historian Cultry, also shares the same view. But modern research has shown that the treaty was a wise step. P.E.Roberts defends the Treaty of Pondicherry. In his words "The task of Godeheu was to save what he could and he succeded well in that work." Iswari Prasad opines that "Whether it was wise as alleged by the English historian Roberts, or unwise as alleged by the French historian Cultru. One thing is certain that the treaty secured a decided advantage for the English, it gave them a respite before has Seven Years War broke out, a respite during which they consolidated their position in the Carnatic and became the masters of Bengal".

6.4.3 The Third Carnatic War (1758 – 1763)

The Third Carnatic War was the direct result of the European displomacy which started the 'Seven Year War in Europe, though they wanted to avoid and scene of conflict in India. The time fortunately favourabel for the French for attacking the English settlement South India since Robert Clive had gone out with his best troops to Bengal. The French, therefore dispatched an able officer by name Count de Lally, to expel the English from India. Immediately on his arrival, Lally laid siege to Fort St. David and succeeded in capturing it without any solid resistance from the English. But, when he marched against the Raja of Tajore to enforce the payment of money due from him, he was forced to retreat to Pondicherry on the arrival of squadron of Karaikkal, Lally's military base. This was a great failure and did much damage to the already declining prestige of the French.

Count de Lally then decided to attack Madras and in order, to increase the resources, summoned Bussy from Hyderabad. Bussy with great reluctance obeyed, but his obedience destroyed the last chance of carrying out Dupleix's policy in the Deccan. Clive who was waiting for such an opportunity, in spite of his critical position in Bengal dispatched a part of the troops to the Nothern Circars. The British General. Colonel, Forde defeated the French troops which still remained in the Nizam's territory and captured Masulipatanam. With this vanished the French influence permanently and the Nizsam formally made over to the English territory previously grantec to Bussy. In them meantime, Bussy and Lally quarreled and the siege of Madras which was undertaken in December, 1758 was raised after a few months.

Count de Lally secured no help from his French subordinates because they did not like to co-operate with him. He received no help from his Home Government Moreover, the Frency soldiers had not received their salaries for the past many months and they were ready for a revolt. On the other hand, the fresh English detachment arrived in India under the command of Sir Eyre Coote and consequently, with Cotte's arrival, the English position improved considerably. After a few minor battles between the two powers, a very improved battle-the Battle of Wandiwash was fought by the two armies which proved a very decisive battle. The French army was given a crushing defeat. As Colonel Malleson writes the Battle of Wandiwash smashed away the skeletor to the building of which Martin, Dumas and Duplex had contributed much". It sealed the fate of Pondicherry. The French General was then shut up in Pondicherry which after a siege of eight months was forced to surrender. The fall of Pondicherry practically sounded the death knell of the French domination in India.

The Seven Year War came to a close in Europe by the treaty of Paris in 1763, by which hostilities in India between the French and the English were also suspended. Though, according to the Treaty of Paris, Pondicherry and Chandranagore had been resolved to France, these were not allowed to be fortified. The whole of their trade was dislocated, their political ascendancy vanished and the seal of failure was applied to all their aspirations in India. Henceforth the French remained in India only as traders.

6.4.4 Causes of French Failure

Passion and prejudices have clouded the issue and insufficient knowledge of the relevant material makes it impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion". It is generally agreed that the main cause of French failure in India was to a large extent, due to the commercial superiority and better financial position of the English Company. It was a vigorous and self-reliant commercial body managed by a private corporation. But the French Company had become a subordinate department to government. The French people were indifferent to the fortunes of the Company and even the Proprietors took no interest. Moreover as Percival

Griffths points out, when it was reorganised in the 18th Century, it as little more than a second rate Department of State, in constant receipt of loans and subsidies from the French Treasury".

The English never forgot that they were primarily a trading body and they made their conquests pay. The French failed to realize this point. They wrongly believed that the Indian trade was a failure for France and military conquests would offer them better, prospects.

Secondly, the French had no suitable military base in India, whereas the possession of Bengal, besided being a source or wealth to the English, supplied them the necessary materials for and a firm base of operation. The French were never able to threaten Bombay and their operation in Bengal were negligible. Neither Bussy nor Dupleix singly nor both combinec had a chance of success against the Government which controlled the sea routes and the resources of Gangetic Valley. As V.A. Smith remarks "Neither Alexander the Great no Napoleon could have won the Empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and contending with the power which held Bengal and command of the seas". Thirdly, the most important cause for the success of the English was the command of the sea. Since the two nations were fighting as a great distance from their own countries and were found on the fleet for supplies, the control over the sea routes was found to be decisive. After the Seven Years War England's naval supremacy became formidable.

Lastly the English Company was lucky to have very able men in its service. Major Stringer Lawrence and Robert Clive were men of great military talents and capacity for leadership. The French also had some eminent men but their character made their faliure' "The remarkable qualities of Count de Lally were neutralized by his hasty temper and want of Judgement. Sir Alfred Lyall. shares also the same view. To quote him. "The Bankruptcy of the French East India Company, their bad administration at home and abroad and their policy of sacrificing the commercial and colonial interests in favour of participating in disastrous wars in Europe and, above all, the weakness of their supremacy at sea, were the cause of their failure".

6.4.5 Dupleix Career and Achievements

Joseph Francois Dupleix the most striking and brilliant figure in the Anglo-French contest for dominion in India was born in 1697. He was the son of a wealthy Farmer General of Taxes and Director General of the Company of the Indies. From very early days Dupleix displayed a strong passion for the exact sciences like Mathematics and showed a decided aversion to mercantile life. But his father had other ideas and sent him to undergo commercial raining. His father then obtained for him a high post at Pondicherry in 1720.

Here Dupliex made great fortune by engaging himself in provide trade then permitted to servants of the French Company in India. For that, he was suspended from service in December 1729. Dupleix remained in India and appealed to the Home Authorities who reconsidered the entire case to compensate for the injustice he had suffered, appointed him as the director of the factory at Chandranagore.

Dupleix found the French settlements in the Carnatic suffering from the effects of the Maratha invasion. Moreover, there also indications that war in Europe between France and England was imminent. He, therefore set himself to the task of strengthening his position and increase the French prestige among the natives.

But unfortunately, he could not get assistance from the Home Government. The War of Austrian Succession in Europe had an echo in India also. From 1744 for nearly a quarter of century, the English and the French were involved in a bitter struggle for supremacy Dupleix played a successful role in the early years of the struggle and when the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle closed the European War in 1748, the position of the French in the Carnatic was quite impregnable.

His easy victory over the Nawab's forces near Adyar encouraged him. As a next step in his plan to drive out his English rivals, he began to establish his ascendancy in the councils of the native as powers. The English were not slow to copy his example. Thus as P.E. Roberts says "He failed to recognise that the game in which, he was engaged was one at which two could play, that the English could imitate his own policy in retrieving their lost position ".

In the early stages of the struggle the advantages were with the French. But soon Dupleix's star gradually waner and finally set for ever. The French Government which had not understood the spirit of his designs grow impatient of the reverses. Dupleix was called back to France where he ended his last days in poverty and disgrace.

6.4.6 Causes for his Failure

There is no doubt that Dupleix was a wise states man and he was ambitious and far sigher But no one can deny that his motives were patriotic. His country men failed to understand hir and he was not given that good treatment which he will deserve. He wanted to establish the French Empire in India by out standing the English who were their only rivals. But certain circumstances and difficulties continued to make it difficult for him to realize his great ambition of founding the French Empire in India. The following, therefore, were the cause of his failure to establish French Ezpire in India. It has been rightly said that, "The Frenchmen will ever regret that Duleix flung his net too far and that he did not confine his efforts to the Carnatic" (Colonel Malleson) That is with the limited resources at his disposal, he attempted, too much. He must have confined his efforts to the Carnatic and should not have attempted to dabble in Hyderabed politics. But as R.C. Majumda points out that, "It is hard to accept his view as even substantially correct". In the first part of 1754, Dupleix had enough military strength at his disposal to force the issue to a final decision.

Another handicap from which Dupleix suffered was that he was not a great general and as such, lacked personal courage. On the otherhand, the person with whom he was pitted was Robert Clive, "a heaven-born general's great diplomat as well as a great general. No wonder while Dupleix failed, Robert Clive succeeded. Dupleix as a statesman failed in one respect and failed grandly. He focused his whole attention in the Deccan policies alone. If, like the English, Duplex also had tries to penetrate into Bengal province too, he would have been able not only to create many difficulties by creating a diversion in the attention of the English in Bengal, but in the Deccan also at the sametime. His failure to grasp the situation as statesman resulted in his failure to retain the Deccan in his heads.

Dupleix was vain and quarrelsome by nature. He would pick up quarrel even with the subordinates from whom have expected co-operation. He may also be charged with duplicity. But it should, however, be noted here that nobody is perfect on this earth. Moreover as V.A. Smith says, "It is futile to lay stress upon the personal frailties of Dupleix or lesser men in order to explain the French failure".Another cause for his failure was that Dupleix failed to receive a whole-hearted support from the Home government. The Home Government was so busy in the Wars with England in Europs and that she could not properly attend to the affairs of the French in India. Dupleix was anxious to promote the glory and honour of his country, but the resources at his disposal were most inadequate. In the absence of adequate support from the French Government Dupleix could not properly put his schemes into practice. Critics have rightly pointed out that the master of Duplex looked more to the dividend and not to the future French Empire in India.

6.4.7 Estimate of Dupleix

No one can deny that Duplex was one of the greatest of the Frenchmen who was sent to India by the French Company. His political projects were daring and brilliant .According to Elphinstone, "Dupleix was the first who made an extensive use of disciplined sepoys, the first who quitted the ports on the sea, and marched an army into the heart of the Continent; the first above all, who discovered the illusion of the Mughal greatness".

Duplex's works, achievements and character amply justify the truth of the statement. But in spite of his final failure. "Dupleix is a striking and brilliant figure in Indian history". For a time, he raised the prestige of French in India to an amazing height and his interference in the Deccan would have shattered the English hopes there, if only the French Government had his conduct was not worse than that of his European contemporaries in India. We can therefore, conclude with P.E. Roberts "Dupleix was a real founder of European ascendancy in India".

6.5. LET US SUM UP

This lesson provides detail about those foreigners in India in the close of the fifteenth century. When the Portuguese under the leadership of Vasco da Gama landed at calicut is a landmark in the history of India's maritime trade. The arrival of the Portuguese in India was followed by the advent of other European Communities and soon India's coastal and maritime trade was monopolized by the Europeans. During the course of the two centuries, Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries four Europeans companies the Portuguese Estado da India, the Dutch united East India Company, and vereerigde Oost Indische Companies, the English India Company and the French East India company were established in India.

The volume and value of European trade with India did not rise significantly before the active participation of the Dutch and English Companies.

The organization of the North European trading Companies an a joint stock basis provided an entirely new and stronger institutional foundation for European's direct trade with India. It resulted in intense commercial competition and appropriated a large proportion of trade which earlier belonged to the Indian merchant.

The organizational system, sales and purchases of the Dutch and the English also differed. The European companies in India desired a 'Master system' to enforce standardization. The large annual purchases made by the English, the Dutch and the French greatly stimulated the textile industry which provided employment it a sizeable section of the population. Indian exports comprised textiles, food products like rice, wheat, pulses and oil and commercial products like indigo and opium.

The later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries proclaimed the golden period of Indian maritime trade with Europe. But this prosperity proved to be short – lived and soon led to the colonial supremacy over India.

6.6. KEY WORDS

The old Goa Pouradao – Golden goa.
Interlopers - the individual English merchants independent of the company's control
revoke - rescind
Muslims - Mainly Arabs.

6.7. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No 1. Refer Section No.6.1.

For Question No 2. Refer Section No.6.2.

For Question No 3. Refer Section No.6.3.

For Question No 4 Refer Section No.6.4.

For Question No 5. Refer Section No.6.4.5

6.8. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **BalaKrishna.,** - Culture and Society in India 1967.
Commercial Relations between India and England.
2. **M.N. Das.,** - Studies in the Economic and Social Development of modern India 1848-56.
3. **R. Coupland.,** - Britian and India (1600-1947)
4. **W.W. Hunter.,** - History of British India
5. **G.B. Malleson.,** - History of the French in India.

6.9. QUESTION AND EXERCISE

1. Account for the progress of Dutch East India Company in the East during the 17th century.
2. Trace the progress of the Portuguese power in India and account for its decline.
3. Trace the early history of the British East India Company in India.
4. Describe the different phase of the Anglo – French conflict for supremacy in India. What was its outcome in the Carnatic?
5. Account for the failure of the French to establish and Empire in India.
6. Explain the policy of Duplex pointing out the courses of his failure.

LESSON - 7

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

INTRODUCTION

Soon after the Battles of Plessey and Buexar, the English established their sway over the rich province of Bengal. Subsequently, British socio – economic organizations and its advanced technology helped in gradual tightening of the colonial grip over India. The Cornwallis code is the codified version of the Regulation of 1793 covering the whole field of administration. The British Government in India did not adopt a uniform land revenue policy. This lesson may explain the various stages of the growth of the economic condition in India besides the form of the permanent settlement and Roytwari system .

OBJECTIVES

By studying this chapter the student will able to,

a. Understand the definition of the Cornwallis code.
b. Know the evolution of land revenue system.
c. recognize the importance of different.
d. Understand the types of land settlement.

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1. The Cornwallis Code.
  7.1.1. Condition of land revenue before Cornwallis.
7.2. The Permanent Settlement
  7.2.1. The Settlement
7.3. Ryotwari System
  7.3.1. Merits and Defects.
7.4. Let us sum up.
7.5. Key words
7.6. Answer for CYP Question
7.7. Books for Further Reading
7.8. Question and Exercises

7.1 THE CORNWALLI'S CODE

The Cornwalli's Code is the codified version of the Regulation of 1793 covering the whole field of administration – Judicial, Police, commercial and fiscal. This comprehensive Code defines the administrative system, civil procedure and the exercise of power by constituted authority. It was prepared by Cornwallis with the help of Sir George Barlow. It introduced the principle of "Separation of Powers" and separated judicial power from revenue. Further, under Cornwallis the Rule of Law made it s appearance. Thus Cornwallis bestowed upon Bengal the benefits of the doctrine of "Separation of Powers, which was very popular in the west during the 19th Century.

There is no doubt that the code introduced order and system into what was chaotic before and gave definiteness and permanency to what before vague and fluctuating. But the "radical error' of his system was the exclusion of Indian, from all but the most subordinate posts in the public services.

7.1.1 Condition of Land Revenue before Cornwallis

In between the retirement of Hastings and the succession of Cornwallis, Macpherson acted as the Governor general. During his rule the collectors were once again sent back to districts. The districts were reorganised and educed to thirty five. These district collectors were entrusted with the duty of collecting the revenues and making settlements. The Committee of Revenue appointed earlier was reconstituted and named Board of Revenue. In order to reduce the powers of Quanungos a new post namely chief Sheristadar was created.

The zamindars, who occupied a hereditary position paid nine tenths of the revenues to the State. But they created problems also. During the rule of Hastings a settlement was between the zamindars and the state. But this settlement failed to solve the problems. Pitt's India Act of 1784 advocated a permanent settlement and expressed a bias in favour of zamindars. Unfortunately no step was taken regarding this settlement. The condition of the ryots continued to be as pitiable as ever. They had friends neither among the Indian officials nor those of the company. It was during this situation Cornwallis occupied the seat of the Governor-General.

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Explain the Cornwallis code.

2. Write a short note on the permanent settlement.

3. What are the merits and Defects of the Ryotwari System?

7.2 THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

The system of forming revenue to the highest bidders, at firs for five years and then for one yea as adopted by Hastings proved extremely unsatisfactory. It made the revenue of the Company precarious and fluctuating. Hence the Directors condemned the system and expressed their preference for a permanent settlement.

Cornwallis agreed with them and in pursuance of their instruction, made the settlement in 1793. Next with their concurrence of the Prime Minister Pitt the Younger and the President of the Board of Control, he declared the existing settlement permanent in 1793. Thus was carried out the famous Permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

7.2.1 The Settlement

1. The settlement was made with the Zamindars who were given proprietory right over land with the conditions that in case of a defalcation, a part of their land could be disposed off by the State to realize it dues
2. The State being relieved of all ownership rights, it could not claim any feudal dues such as the succession fee
3. The rates fixed with the Zamindars were double the rates that were obtained in 1765.
4. All judicial powers taken away from the Zamindars and
5. Zamindars were made free in their relations with the ryots on the condition that they would give them 'pattas'

The Permanent Settlement thus introduced has its merits as well as defects. There is no doubt that it gave popularity to the Brithish Government and helped to make Bengal the wealthiest and most flourishing province in India. It has improved the position of the Zamindars and has removed all those checks to industry and improvements which, are inevitable when the Government takes part of the profit. Lastly, it avoided the evil of periodical settlement which , at however long intervals, protected economic dislocation, evasion and deliberate throwing of land out of cultivation.

Against this measure, Dr. V.A. Smith and other historians urge the following arguments 'Firstly by recognising the Zamindars alone, it ignored the ancient rights of under-proprietors and left them at the mercy of the newly created landlords. Secondly it caused considerable financial loss in as much as it deprived Government of ashare in the increasing value of the land. Thirdly, the rigid punctuality of the payment of revenue enforced by the sale of law caused great hardship and ruined many zamindars. Lastly, the hope created was that Zamindars would improve and develop their estates, had not been realised. To sum up a settlement for a ling term of years might have retained all the advantages of permanent Settlement without its defects.

The results of the Permanent Settlement may be described as follows in regard to the three interested parties the Zamindars the Ryots and the Ruling Power-it assured the welfare of the first, somewhat postponded the claims of the second and sacrificed the interest of the third.

7.3 RYOTWARI SYSTEM

The chief advocate of the Ryotwari system was Sir Thomas Munro. He served the government of Madras during A.D. 1820 to 1827. His notable associate was Captain Read. Under this system, every registered holder of land is recognised as its proprietor. He has to pay the revenue to the government directly. He has right to subject, transfer, sell or mortgage his land. As long as he pays the fixed amount, of assessment, he has the option of annually increasing or reducing the cultivation of his land. Even he can entirely abandon it. Remissions of assessment are granted for loss of produce in unfavorable seasons. The assessment is fixed one. When a land holder receives irrigation facilities form the government, the assessment will be increased . The land holder can at anytime throw up his lands. He receives assistance in difficult seasons.

As the Permanent Settlement failed to achieve the goal, the English decided to introduce the Ryotwari system of Munro. This system came out effectively not only because of the ideas of Read and Munro, but also because of the uselessness of the Zamindari system. The Ryotwari system was first introduced in Bengal, Bombay, Salem, Rajamundri and Baranmahal. As this system worked succes fully the British Government gave more emphasis to it. Munro proposed to reduce the assessment to one third of the produce. His proposal was accepted later on. In this system the officers were not guided to over assessment or for over taxation.

But this system was not exempted from oppression, suppression and corruption. The subordinate officers of the revenue establishment oppressed the ryots. In 1829 an official of the Ryotwari system had noted that by opening the door to the frauds on the peasant and corruption on the part of the public officer when the superintendence was defective, the system had a tendency unfavorable to the morals of the people. Sir Thomas Munro himself had realised the possibilities of corruption in this system.

7.3.1 Merits and Defects

The Ryotwari system paved the way for direct relations between the government and the ryots Every registered holder of land is recognized as it proprietor and pays revenue direct to the government. Landless tenants increased in number, Percival Spear say that it was of no use to the villages, instead it ruined them. The Land-lords became zamindars within a short span. The civil servants who collected the 'lease' amount were paid very meager salary. So they involved in corruption.Ramesh Dutt says, "Madras was, for thirty years, the home of all sorts of evils of the landlords. There was no example to the degeneration of the tenants farmers in no otherpart of India". In Bellary most of the tenants became debtors, in Nellore the goods were taken from tenants at a low price, in North Arcot the condition of the condition of the ryots was pitiable and in Trichy, Salem and Madurai the cooli of the farmers never increased in proportion to the export of cotton.

7.4. LET US SUM UP

In the Pre – colonial period, Indian economy was predominantly an agrarian economy. Agriculture was then the primary occupation of the people and even industries like textiles, sugar, oil etc were defendant on it. With in half of a century of British rule, the pattern of land ownership and the methods of assessment and collection of land revenue introduced by the British in India destroyed the pre-British agrarian system and self-sufficiency of the Indian village society.

Under the Permanent settlement of 1793 the zamindar was declared the absolute owner and proprietor of his estate. Tobale the zamindars out of this distressful situation, the Government passed the notorious regulations of 1799, which invested the zaminars with arbitrary powers to eject the cultivator or attach his agricultural stock and implements for non-payment of rent. This law opened the tow gates of exploitation of helpless peasantry. The permanent settlement failed to achieve the goal. so the English introduced another revenue settlement, this paved the way for direct relations between the government and the riots. This system was also led to an agricultural depression and land because unprofitable, agriculture un-remunerative and unpopular.

7.5. KEY WORDS

Land lords	-	revenue farmers.
Quinquennial	-	five-yearly
Diwari	-	the right to collection revenuer.
deccanial	-	10 years.

7.6. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTION

For Question No.1	Refer section No.17.1.
For Question No.2	Refer section No.17.2.
For Question No.3	Refer section No.17.3.1

7.7. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1.	**V. Anestey.,**	-	The economic development of modern India
2.	**R.C. Duti.,**	-	The economic history of India.
3.	**J.G. Kausal.,**	-	Economic history of India.
4.	**B.R. Nanda.,**	-	Essays in modern Indian History.

7.8. QUESTION AND EXERCISES

1. Give an account of the working of the land revenue system under the British rule.

THE REVOLT OF 1857

CAUSES, COURSE AND CONSEQUENCES

Space for Hints

INTRODUCTION

The famous Battle of Plassey was fought on 23rd January 1757. This Battle witnessed the defeat and expulsion of Nawab. Siraj-ud Daula and the installation of Mir Jafar as the Nawab of Bengal. Since 1757 the Company played the role of King-maker in Bengal. Thus the Battle of Plassey laid the foundation for the British Empire in India. After a hundred years of growth, the Empire was well established. But in 1857 the centenary year of the Battle of Plassey, the very foundation of the Empire was shaken. The British Parliament took up the reign in its hand. It was the result of the great rising of India in 1857.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this chapter the students will able to

a. realise the importance of 1857 revolt.

b. Understand about the Causes Course and Consequences of war.

c. examine the nature of the struggle and important personalities.

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1. The Origin and Character of the Mutiny (1857)
8.2. National revolt
8.3. The causes of Mutiny
  8.3.1. Political Causes
  8.3.2. Social and religious Causes
  8.3.3. The Military Cause
  8.3.4. The immediate Cause
8.4. The out break of Mutiny
  8.4.1. The suppression of Mutiny
8.5 The Causes for the failure of the Mutiny
8.6. The effects of the Mutiny

8.7. Let us sum up

8.8. Key words

8.9 Answer for CYP Questions

8.10. Books for Further Reading

8.11. Questions and Exercises

8.1 THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE MUTINY (1857)

There were many views about the origin and meaning of the Sepoy Mutiny. According to one view, it was a mere military outbreak. The other view was that it was a war of Independence, carefully organized for the overthrow of the British power. According to Thompson and Garratt, 'the Mutiny may be considered either as a military revolt, or as a bid for recovery of their property and privileges by dispossessed princes and landlords or an attempt to restore the Mughal Empire or as a peasant's war. From every aspect it was localised, and un organised" Sir John Lawrence expressed that Mutiny was purely a military out break and its cause was the greased cartridges and nothing else. Sir john Seely was of the opinion that "The Mutiny was wholly unpatriotic and selfish with no native leadership and no popular support". Sir James Outram believed that it was the result of Muhammadan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances. Keene contends that the mutiny broke out due to several factors like the grievances of Indian princes, people an sepoys and that the cartridge affair merely lighted the spark that set fire.

8.2 NATIONAL REVOLT

V.D Savrkar gives a quite different view. In his book, " The Indian War of Independence" he tried to show the rebellion as a national rising against a foreign tyranny which had ruined their liberty, religion culture and also a carefully organised movement for the overthrow of the British power. Ashok Metha in his book let "1857 The great Rebellion laid emphasis on the national character of the struggle. Pandit Jawaharlai Nehru considered the rising "a feudal revolt". But it was more than feudal in character. The event of 1857 was backed by princes, nawabs, and talukadars. The leaders of the rebellion appealed to the national and religious sentiments but it failed to rouse popular feeling. At the same time it was not a national revolt for no leading state joined in the revolt; the Sikhs did not

Check Your Progress Questions

1. What are the causes led to the 1857 revolt?

2. Give a brief account of the course of the revolt?

attempt to restore their power; instead they joined the British forces All the sepoys did not join the rebellion, South India remained calm. The Gurkhas of Nepal lent their hand to put down the revolt. Only in Oudh and Rohikand that the revolt appeared as national rising. Hence R.C Majumdar opinion that the revolt was not a national movement.

It may be concluded in the words of P.E.Roberts, "the rising was mainly military in origin but it occurred at the time when for various reasons there was much social and political discontent and that the mutineers were promptly joined by interested adventures who tried to give it a particular direction to suit their own schemes".

8.3 THE CAUSES OF MUTINY

The causes of the mutiny may be explained under the headings - political, social, religious and military.

8.3.1 Political causes

As regards political cause, the conquests of Dalhousie and his annexation by applying the Doctrine of Lapse, had-caused a spirit of uneasiness, suspicion and fear in the minds of Indian rulers. No ruler of a native state felt safe. The stoppage of the pension to Nana Sahib the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II made him the most dreadful enemy of the British. The annexation of Oudh was a "gross violation of the national faith", The talukdars of Oudh, the hereditary revenue collectors were removed form their jobs. the native army was also disbanded and the soldiers lost their livelihood. The strict applications of the Doctrine of Lapse made many enemies to the British. The political factor that are mentioned above were largely responsible for the outbreak of the rebellion in 1857.

8.3.2 Social and religious causes

The conservative section of the people was seriously alarmed by the introduction of many western reforms, which seemed to shake their ancient social order. The prohibition of Sati and Infanticide, the Window Remarriage Act, the Law which enabled a Christian convert to inherit property and the missionary activities done by the official .All these were regarded by orthodox Hindus as an indirect pressure to convert them into Christianity. The spread of English education science, astronomy and surgery were all opposed to the traditional beliefs of the Indians. Everything, even the introduction of the Railways, Telegraphy and Post was regarded as an attempt to westernise them. Hence, there was a cry of "Religion is in danger". This stimulated the spirits of ordinary Indians to take up arms against the British.

8.3.3 The Military cause

The mutiny had its origin in the army itself. There was a lot of discontentment among Indian soliders. They are:

1. When Compared to European soldiers the chance for promotion and to draw higher salaries, were forbidden to Indian sepoys;
2. The Indian sepoys were called upon to fight in wars across the seas. The general Services and Enlistment Act compelled them to serve wherever required. The high cast men like Brahmins and Rajputs dreaded crossing the seas as it would out caste them;
3. The disparity in number between the European and Indian soldiers was another factor. The Proportion of the Indian troops to British was very high. This emboldened the sepoys to defy the authority of the British;
4. The distribution of troops was also faulty. There were no British soldiers between Allahabad and Calcutta. Except at Dinapur, Allahabad and Delhi the other places were wholly held by native sepoys.
5. The distribution of mysterious chapatis among sepoy and the meeting of Indian soldiers, British officers created a troublesome atmosphere.

8.3.4 The Immediate cause

Finally, the introduction of greased cartridges fanned the discontentment of the sepoys into terrible flame. A rumour spread out that the cartridges were greased with the fat of cow and pig. The Sepoys were required to bite the end of cartridges before using them. The sepoys thought that it was greased thus with a deliberate intention to outcaste and break the social systems of both Hindus and Muslims.

8.4 THE OUTBREAK OF MUTINY

In Meerut on 9th May 1857 the sepoys refused to use the cartridges. They were court martialled and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. On 10th May, three native regiments broke into mutinty, shot down their officers, broke open the prisons released their comrades and marched towards Delhi. The next day they reached Delhi, murdered the Empeor. The Mutiny spread immediately to Oudh, Rohilkhand and to many parts of Central India. Baraily, Lucknow, Benaras,

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Explain the causes for the failure of the mutiny.

4. Evaluate the effects of the Mutiny.

Cawnpore and Jhansi became the centres of rebellion. In all these places the rebelling sepoys murdered their officers and marched towards Delhi. But, on the whole, the south of Narmada was calm.

8.4.1 The Suppressin of Mutiny

At Delhi the mutineers form Meerut compelled the titular ruler of Delhi to declare himself as the emperor of India. For about four months the rebels controlled the city. But the British were able to seize a hill area Delhi. In the meantime Sir John Lawrence to of the Punjab sent a force under General Nicholson, who recaptured the city. Bahadur Shah was taken prisoner. He was exiled to Rangoon where he died. The King's two sons were shot dead. The fall of the city broke the back-bone of the Mutiny.

At Lucknow, the sepoys laid siege to the British residency. There, Sir Henry Lawrence was shut up with a small force. There he was killed. But the besiegers maintained a gallant defence till it was re-inforced by General Outram and Hovelock. Still the mutineers had the upperhand in Lucknow. Finally it was relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. Allahabad become the base of the British operations.

At Cawnpur, Nana Sahib directed the operaions, Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao was refused pension. Thus he had legitmate grievance against the British. When the mutiny broke out in Cawnpur he declared himself as the Peshwa. But at the same time he pretended friendship towards the British. He promised the safe conduct of British to Allahabad. While they were taken in a boat across the river, they were killed cruelly. Only four escaped. The women and children were butchered and thrown into a well. General. Havelock marched towards Cawnpur and drove Nana Sahib who had fled into the border.

At Bareilly, a Rohila chief declared himself as the Governor of Rohilkhand in May 1858. General Cambell suppressed the revolt there.In Bundelkand, Rani of Jhansi Lakshmi Bai headed the revolt. As her state was annexed to British empire by applying the Doctrine of Lapse. She took vengeance upon the British by joining the rebellion. All the Europeans at Jhansi were murdered . Sir Huge Rose conducted the operations to Control India. The Rani escaped to Kalpi which was also taken by Rose. Meanwhile she succeeded in uniting her forces with those of Tantia Tope and occupied Gwalior. The Scindhia of Gwalior was driven to Agra. General Rose followed the Rani and defeated her. The Rani met her death while fighting in male dress. General Rose described her as the "best and bravest military cadre of rebels." Tantia Tobe, the follower of Nana Sahib, and a man of remarkable courage and cunning took a leading part in Cawnpore affairs. After the fall of the city he assumed the control of the Gwalior rebels. But he was defeated and was driven from pillor to post. Finally he was betrayed and hanged.

8.5 CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF THE MUTINY

The first and the foremost cause for the failure of Mutiny was the absence of unity of pursose among the rebels. There was no common plan and effective leadership. The sepoys of Bengal Army wanted to restore the ancient Mughal empire, while the followers of Nana Sahib tried to receive the power of Peshwas. Jhansi Rani's activities were restricted only within her own state Secondly, the Mutiny was to some extent localised.

The south of Narmada remained calm. In north also except in Oudh, the Mutiny spread only in scattered areas like Delhi, Gwalior, Jhansi etc. The recently conquered Panjab was kept under control. The Afghan King Dost Muhammed was friendly towards the British. sindh and Rajasthan were loyal. Thirdly, some of the native rulers of India rendered valuable have in suppressing the revolt. Sir Dinakar Rao of Gwalior, Salar Jang of Hyerabad, Jad Bahadur of exceptional genius and extraordinary abilities. Fifthly no harbour of India was in danger. The English also had the command of the sea. Hence, they could easily pour men and materials from Europe. They were able to get reinforcements from outside.

8.6 EFFECTS OF THE MUTINY

Sir Griffith says, "Perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the Mutiny of 1857 never occurred in India. The Mutiny swept the India sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy pampered army. It replaced an unprogressive, selfish and commercial system of administration by the liberal and enlightened. The most important result was the end of the British East India Company's rule in India. The British Parliament which made the first encroachment into the Company's affairs of India by passing the Regulating Act in 1773, gradually and steadily absorbed the powers by passing the Pitt's India Act of 1784 and the Charter Acts of 1813, 1833 and 1853, So, the change of power from the company to the crown was rather normal than substantial.

8.7. LET US SUM UP

The revolt of 1857 was an epoch making event in the history of India. The outbreak of 1857 indeed was a watershed in British Indian history. In the words of Michel Edwards, "The mutiny represent a divide in the history of British India. In general terms it was the violent meeting of two dying systems". The mutiny was the parting of the ways between two ages in the Indian history - the medieval and modern. It brought about a revolutionary change in the national life of India. According Sir L. Griffth, "Perhaps more fortunate occurrence than the mutiny of 1857 occurred in India. It swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds it replaced an unprogressive, selfish and commercial system of administration by are liberal and enlightened". In fact a new era-began in Indian

8.8. KEY WORDS

1. **Stoppage**	-	Blacked state
2. **Misterious**	-	Full of wrapt in
3. **Watershed**	-	A line of separation between river basins.
4. **Discontent**	-	Unsatisfied state of mind.

8.9. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer section No.8.3.
For Question No.2	Refer section No.8.4.
For Question No.3	Refer section No.8.5.
For Question No.4	Refer section No.8.6.

8.10. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

1. **Couplan R.,**	-	Britain and India (1600-1947).
2. **Chopra. P.N.,**	-	India's struggle for freedom, Vol I, II.
3. **M. Hussain, (ed).,**	-	A History of the Freedom movement 1707 – 1947, Vol. IV.
4. **Innes.,**	-	The sepoy Revolt.

8.11. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Bring out the causes which led to the out break of the mutiny of 1857.
2. Critically evaluate the causes and the effects of the 1857 revolt.

LESSON - 9

GENESIS OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS MODERATES & EXTREMISTS - PARTITION OF BENGAL

Space for Hints

INTRODUCTION

Nationalism in India arose to meet the challenge of foreign domination, which, however, was not new to India. A series of foreign hordes had penetrated into this country form the North West and had established their sway at different places and at different times. Anthropological surveys have revealed that no race originated in India. Even the Dravidians, who are commonly believed to be the original inhabitants of India, stated to have come from the Mediterranean regions. They were dislodged from their country from Central Asia. They were later followed by the Kushans, the Huns, the Turks. the Afghans and the Mongols and the Mughals. Till the advent of the Muslims, the invaders who settled in India merged with the Indian society. They became the wool and warp of the fabric of society by imbibing the essence of Indian culture, which was largely of Hindu culture, and this fusion helped to strengthen the Hindu community numerically. When the Muslims forced their way into India in quest of power and wealth they discovered in India a polytheistic society diametrically opposed to their strictly mono theistic convictions. Hence they preserved their aloofness and vigorously strove towards the conversion of a large number of the indigenous population to Islam. However, they did not have their base out side India. Except during the days of the predatory expeditions of Mohammed of Ghazni, the Mongols and Timur, it was never the intention of the Muslim conquerors to drain the wealth of India and channel it to countries outside India. The Muslim potentates extricated themselves form the trans India moorings and glorified themselves as essentially Indian monarchs. Gradually a large indigenous population of Muslim grew up to push up the number of Muslims of foreign extraction like the Irani and Turani Muslims.

There was a perceptible change in this state of affairs when European powers like England and France vied with each other for positions of vantage in the Indian sub-continent and acquired by slow degrees political power and military prestige. The English emerged victorious in a hotly contested struggle for supremacy against the French and India gradually came under the rule of the East India Company. The Europeans were able to subdue the Native Powers of India by their superior naval power, their sophisticated methods of warfare, their military strategies and their adopt adherence to effective diplomatic manoeuvers, the English offensive for gaining political paramountcy commenced in the second half of the eighteenth century and by the time the Crown took over the India administration in 1858, practically the whole of India had passed into the hands of the English.

In 1858, Queen Victoria made her famous proclamation according to which she promised enough safeguards to the interests of the Princely classes and also steps to ameliorate the grievances of the common people. She vowed to work for the uplift of the masses. The first part of her Proclamation was promptly implemented and second part remained only a pious platitude. Hence the nationalist movement originated in India in the second half of the 19th century. The English traders till the Mutiny of 1857 and the English rulers after that great conflagration had their base in far away England, India remained a hunting-ground for them. The English systematically drained India's wealth and crippled Indian industry. trade and agriculture. The teaming millions of India found themselves enmeshed in object poverty, ignorance and inactivity as a result of foreign domination. The very existence of a foreign rule helped to the growth of a national sentiment among the people. There was definitely a clash between the British interests in India and those of the India people. The British had conquered India to promote their own interest and they ruled over her primarily with that object in view. With the passage of time there was a realisation in India which brought bitterness against foreigners in the country. The intelligentsia in India, the artisans and the workers all played their part in the freedom struggle.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this chapter the students will able to.

- Understand the importance of Genesis and growth of the Indian National Congress.
- Analyse the importance of different groups of Indian national Congress.
- Identify the leading personalities to the Congress.
- Examine the partition of Bengal and its results.

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1. Factors leading to the rise of Nationalism.

9.1.1. The impact of western education.

- 9.1.2. Reform movement.
- 9.1.3. Press.
- 9.1.4. Acts
- 9.1.5. Racial Discrimination.

9.2. Predecessors of the Congress.

9.3. Foundation of the Indian National Congress.

- 9.3.1. Meetings of INC
- 9.3.2. Resolutions

9.4. Extremist movement of the Congress.

- 9.4.1. Partition of Bengal.
- 9.4.2. Swadeshi Movement.
- 9.4.3. Repression by Lord Minto
- 9.4.4. Movement Abroad for India's freedom.

9.5. Let us sum up.

9.6. Key words.

9.7. Answer for CYP Questions.

9.8. Books for Further Reading.

9.9. Questions and Exercises

9.1 FACTORS LEADING TO THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

It was during the British rule that the whole of India was conquered and brought under one sovereign authority. The Maharastrahs, the Jasts, the Sikhs and the divided house of the Muslims among themselves had broken up the country into a congeries's of state, each having its distinct political and territorial existence. The British passed them all together under the steam roller heaviness of their military might, This domination by one country over whole of India enabled the people to think and act as one nation. The development of the speedy means of transport and communication was very significant. These means of communication, originally laid down for the economic exploitation of the country-revolutionized the whole economic, social and political life of this country. The Indian labourer began to travel from one part of the country to the other in search of employment. There was an inter-mixing of population. The Indian leaders had among themselves and their personal contact with the people in different parts of the country gave a momentum to the nationalist movement. In the railway compartments all the low castes and the high castes sat together, thus, helping in the leveling up of the social structure.

9.1.1. The impact of Western Education

The English language played a very important role in the growth of nationalism in the country. It acted as the lingua franca of the intelligentia of India. The English language also made the Indian inheritors of a great literature, which was full of great ideas and ideals. The impact of western education made India rise slowly from her lethargy of thought and action. Western manners-social, economic as well as political, began slowly to be imitated. India began once again to think and plan and a new age dawned. Great hopes and great aspiration emerged.

Many scholars, poets and religious reformers contributed towards the progress of nationlist movement. The study and publication of ancient Indian literature by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and scholars like Maxmuller, Monier Williams, William Jones, Jacobi, Colebrooke, Ranade, Hari Prasad Sastri, R.G. Bhandalkar, Rajendraj Lal Mitra and others revealed to the people of India, the majesty of the Sanskrit language and also inculcated among them a feeling of pride in their past and their faith in the future.

9.1.2. Reform Movements

Four important Reform Movements emerged, which tried to bring about an awakening among the Indian masses. The religious and social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Rabindranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dayananda Saraswathi, Rama Krishna Paramahamsa, Vivekananda and others exercise a tremendous influence on the road to progress. These reform movements were the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society and the Rama Krishna Mission. These movements drew their inspiration from India's past and tried to awaken India. They gave an impetus to the growth of the national movement in this country. With the exception of the Arya Samaj, all the other movements tried to bring about a synthesis between the East and the West. Outside these societies there were also individuals who made their contribution towards the same direction. Two of the favorite subjects of all these reforms were the condemnation of caste system and an emphasis on the unity of the Indians and these made their contribution towards the rise of nationalism. The renaissance of the fine arts also did not lag behind. India's past glory in the arts was discovered, which also made its contribution towards nationalism.

9.1.3. Press

The Indian press and literature both English and vernacular also aroused national consciousness. None can underestimate the influence of newspapers like the Indian Mirror, the Bombay Samachar, the Hindu Patriot, the Amrita Bajar Patrika, The Kesari, the Bengalee, The Hurkura, The Bengal Public Opinion. The Reis and Ravet, The Samprokshai, The standard Samachar. The Sanjbam, the Sadhirm Hitavati, the Fast Gofiar, the Indu Prakash, The standard The Swadesamitran, The Herald of Bihar and the Advocate of Lucknow on the Political life of the country. Without the newspapers it would have been impossible to create an atmosphere which the people of India could have been made to think of their common problem and common grievances. The Indian Press was the target of the British Government from the very beginning but it boldly and fearlessly faced the challenge. The writings of Bakim Chandra Chatterjee, Keshab Chandra Sen, Hemahandra Benerjee and Rabindranath Tagore appealed to the higher sentiments of the people of India to work for the glory of their country.

9.1.4. The Acts

The autocratic and imperialistic tendencies of some of India's Governors-General played a significant part in bringing about national awakening. As Surendranath Banarjee put it, "In the evolution of political progress, bad rulers are often blessing in disguise". (A Nation making up p.83), Acts of commission and omission of the period from 1876 to 1884 have been considered the seed time of Indian Nationalism. Lord Lytton held his famous Delhi Durbar in 1877 when South India was in the grip of severe famine which drew a comment, "Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning". Lytton's Afghan war cost the Indian treasury a lot. In order to gag the Indian Public opinion, Lytton passed the notorious Vernacular Press Act in 1878. This Act was, in the words of Sir Erskin Perry, "a retrograded and ill conceived measure in furious to the future progress of India". It was called the Gaoging Act. Lytton passed the Arms Act in 1878 which made distinction between the Indians and the Europeans. The Arms Act imposed upon the Indians a badge if racial inferiority.

Ripon was liberal ruler whose liberal activities towards the Indians invited the indignation of the European community in this country, which taught many new lessons to the leaders of the Nationalist Movement. His Ilbert Bill was a simple measure, the object of which was to put the Indian judges on the same

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Write a short note on Press?
2. How the racial discrimination affected the Indian people?
3. Who are the predecessors of the Indian national Congress?

footing as the European Jundges in dealing with all cases in Bengal Presidency. This was considered to be too much by the Europeans. They started an agitation against the Ilbert Bill and hurled open abuses at Ripon. Later, a compromise was arrived at, which suited the Europeans. However this set a wrong precedent. The flag of racialism was hoisted by the Europeans, "No self respecting Indian could sit idle under the fierce light of the revelation. It was call to high patriotic duty to those who understood its significance" (Banerjee). There was a lot of unemployment among India's educated people. All the key posts went to the Europeans and the Indians were no better than the toilers of the land, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. A vast majority of the newly created middle class grouped themselves under the nationalist leaders.

The worst feature of the British rule was the exploitation of the country. Before the arrival of the British in India, the village in India was a complete socio economic cum political unit. This rural bias in our economic system was broken up by the British, who promoted the emergence of a new class of land lords to sub serve their purposes of revenue collection and the building up of a loyal clientele for themselves. The oppression of the land lords and the complicated administrative system made the lives of the peasants costlier than before. The effect produced by the British administration on Indian industry was in on way better. Indian handicrafts and industries were made to starve. The great Industrial Revolution in the 19th century flooded the Indian market with the cheap machine made products of England and Indian industries were completely destroyed under the pretext of the policy of free-trade.

9.1.5. Racial Discrimination

Regarding the costly British governmental machinery, a good part of money paid to the English official was remitted back home in England. Interest on the English capital investment in this country, the cost of the India office and the pension to the English officials all imposed a heavy financial burden on this country. There was a continuous drain of money from India to England when millions of Indians went through life on insufficient food.

The Indians resented to the attitude of Englishmen towards them. The Europeans in India were arrogant. They took pleasure in calling the Indians the creatures of an inferior breed, "half gorilla, half Negro". They ridiculed the Indian "black heathens" worshipping stocks and stones and swinging themselves on bamboo trees like bees". The life on Indian was estimated by most Europeans as no higher than that of a dog. Even the bravest of the Indian soldiers were not regarded as equal to British officer.

A contribution towards nationalism was also made by the Great Mutiny of 1857. In a sense the Mutiny might be considered as a result of nationalism. When the Hindus and the Muslims fought hand in hand together and when Bahadur Shah declared that he was prepared to resign all his powers into the hands of a confederacy of the princes, it was definitely displayed that India was one nation and all its people irrespective of caste, creed or race were Indians and that before the interest of the country as a whole, all other interests must vanish.

'The presence of some great leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji a simple and heroic life devoted to the service of humanity, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, a master of direct expression and lucid exposition, Bal Gangadar Tilak, the Father of Indian unrest' Annie Besant, an Indian tom-tom waking up all the sleepers so that they may wake up and work for their Mother land and other heroes like Lala Lajpat Rai also did a lot inspiring the people towards nationalism.

9.2. PREDECESSORS OF THE CONGRESS

Even before the foundation of the Indian National Congress there were certain movements against the British Government. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the first Indian leaders to start the agitation for political reform., He fought for the freedom of the press, trial by jury, the separation of the judiciary from the executive, the appointment of Indians to higher offices, protection of riots from the oppression of the zamindars and the development of Indian trade and industries. His tradition was carried on by the Bengalee youth known as the Derozians named after their Anglo Indian teacher, Henry Vivean Derozio. The Kooka Movements was started in the Punjab by Guru Ram Singh. He called upon his followers to lead a life of austerity and work for the glory of the land. The Government got frightened on account of the enormous influence exercised by Ram Singh over his followers. The result was that Guru Ram Singh was interned at his village Bhainee, for an indefinite period.

"The Bengal Land holders Society" was formed in 1837 to defend and promote the landed interests of the country in the same manner as the Chamber of Commerce which had been instituted for the commercial interests. This society was formally inaugurated in 1836 by Theodore Dickens and eminent British barrister and painter in India. An association named the British Indian Society was set up in London in 1839 "for battering the condition of our fellow subjects-the

Check your progress questions

4. Who are the founders of the Indian National Congress?

5. Briefly explain the INC meetings conducted in various places?

Natives of British India and to fix the eyes to the entire nation on the extent and claims of British India. This later on became Bengal British Indian Society in 1843. In 1851 the Bengal Land holders Society and the Bengal British India Society were amalgamated into the British India Association. On 26th August 1852, the principal Hindus, Parsees, Mohamedans, Portuguese and Jews of Bombay met to consider "the desirableness of forming an association with a view to ascertaining the wants of the people of the country and the measures calculated to advance the welfare and of representing the same to the authorities in India or in England. Thus was started the Bombay Association with Dadabhai Naoroji, V.N. Mandlik and Nowrojee Studooonjee as its leaders. On 24 March 1865 a meeting was held in London which was attended by almost all the principal Indian gentlemen then in London. At that meeting it was decided to form the London Indian Society for the purpose of discussing all political, social and literary subjects relating to India and adopting such measures as may be necessary to acquaint the public in England with the views and feelings of the people of India on all principal questions that may arise from time to time. The East India Association was founded in London in 1865, for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion of the public interest and the welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. Its interests were to provide the British public and members of parliament with information and assistance on all Indian subjects.

The Madras Native Association was established in 1852. It submitted to the British parliament a petition in which it mentioned the various grievances of the people. The Poona Sarvajan Sabha was started in 1870. It was intended to be a mediating body between the government and the people, which may afford to the latter, facilities for knowing the real intention and objects of government as well as adequate means for securing their rights by taking a true representation of the real circumstance in which they were placed. In 1875, Sir Kumar Ghosh founded the India League as a focal point for the district bodies after failing to persuade the British India Association to lower its annual subscription. The Indian Association was inaugurated on 26, July 1876. Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose were the main force behind it. Its objects were declared to be "to represent the people and promote by every legitimate means the political, intellectual and national advancement of the people".

The Madras Mahajan Sabha was inaugurated at a meeting held in Madras on 16th May 1884 under the presidentship of Ranganathu Naidu. The object of the

Sabha was declared to be, to endeavor to promote the interest of the people of this country. Before proceeding to discuss the foundation of the Indian National Congress, something more has to be said about the Indian Association founded by Surendranath Banerjee. The first National conference convened by the Indian Association met at Calcutta on 28 December 1883 and was attended by 100 persons who came from various parts of India. The conference lasted from 28 to 30 December 1883 and passed many resolutions. In November 1885 Surendranath Banerjee, Secretary of the Indian Association, issued a circular in connection with the Second National Conference to be held from 25 to 27 December 1885 to discuss questions of Notational importance. The Second National conference and First Indian National Congress were organized on almost the same lines. Both of them demanded simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service. with a change in the age limit. Both of them called for cuts in the civil expenditure and condemned the proposed increase in military charges. Their plans for the future activity were practically the same. No wonder, both the National Conference and the National congress became one in 1886 when the second session of the National Congress was held in Calcutta. Surendranath Banerjee became a part and parcel of the Indian National Congress and later on became its President.

9.3. FOUNDATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

There are many accounts and theories about the origin of the Indian National Congress. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the official historian of the Congress, says in his History of the Indian National Congress that the origin of the Congress, is "Shrouded in Mystery". The most widely accepted view is that A.O.Hume, under the direction of Lord Dufferin, organized the Congress with two main purposes and those were to provide 'safety valve' to the anticipated or actual discontentment of the Indian intelligential and to form a quasi constitutional party similar to Her Majesty's Opposition in England. Allen Octavian Hume had joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1854, worked with distinction and was raised in 1870 to the post of Secretary to the Government of India and this post he held till his retirement in 1880 when he was offered the Lieutenant Governorship of the Punjab, which however he declined and settled at Simla where he started his activities towards the establishment of the Congress. The view of W.C. Banerjee, the first Congress President was that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started was in reality the work of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy. Lord Dufferin had pointed out to Hume that the assembly proposed by the later should

Check your progress questions

6. What are the resolutions passed in its annual sessions from 1885 to 1905?

7. Write a short note on extremist?
8. What is called swadeshi movement?

not be presided over by the Local Government and that there was no body of persons in India performed the function which Her Majesy's Opposition did in England. The newspapers were not reliable and it would be very desirable in the interest of the rulers as well as of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved. Indian politicians unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it.

According to Prof. Sundar Raman, who attended the first session of the Indian National Congress, Dufferin persuaded Hume to stay on and work in India rather than go back to England and work from there. Gokhale said in 1913. "No Indian could have started the Indian National Congress if the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishmen and a distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in these days that the authorities would have at once found some how or the other of suppressing the movement".

Hume's initiative is attributed to the fear of a rebellion of peasants especially in Northern India; but this theory of rebellion has no historical base and it was used by Hume as a convenient literary device with mythical tones. It value was purely propagandistic. There is also no evidence to show that Hume was a spokesman of Dufferin. The fact is that Dufferin despised Hume as a liar and a "traducer in administration". Hence, its is difficult to accept the view of W.C. Banerjee regarding the origin of the Congress and the part played by Lord Dufferin in it. Within two years of the founding of the Congress, Dufferin changed his attitude towards the national organization. He stated that the character of the discussions at the Calcutta session of the Congress was "very childish". On 30th November 1885, Lord Dufferin made his famous St.Andrews Day dinner speech at Calcutta in which he deliberately cruised Hume and called him an idiot. In his opinion, the Congress represented only microscopic minority of the people of India. As their view that Thesophical Society of India was the parent of the Indian National Congress, the idea of holding annual conferences of representative men from different parts of the Country in order to promote national objectives had been current in India long before the foundation of the Theosophical Society. Hence the theory of the Theosophical society cannot be accepted.

The view of Dr. Nandlal Chatterji is that Congress was founded in fact as a precautionary move against an apprehended Russian invasion of India". It is pointed out that Russophobia and Volunteer Movement worked as a lever in political activity in India. It was in March 1885 that the Russian danger was at the highest and it was then that Hume met the Viceroy and explained to him his proposal to organize the Indian National Congress. This the Russophobia played its part in the creation of the Indian National Congress.

Another view is that the roots of the Congress are to be discovered in the separate political associations in various parts of India. It was watered by the controversies over the Vernacular Act, the Arms Act, the reduction of the age limit for entry into the Indian Civil Service and the Ilbert Bill. Another view is that the Congress was the first harvest of what had been sown long before by the wise and beneficent statesmen in the shape of Schools and Colleges. The view of Surendranath Banerjee is that the Congress was the outcome of these civilizing influences which Macaulay and his co-adjustors were instrumental in implanting the Government of the Country. Sir William Wedderburn regarded the Congress as the direct result of the noblest efforts of the British statement, the national and healthy fruit of higher education and free institutions granted to the people of India. Hume himself declared at public meeting at Allahabad in April 1888 that the Congress movement was the outcome of the labours of a body of cultured men mostly born natives of India, who had banded themselves together to labour gently for the good of India.

Whatever might have been the motives of Lord Dufferin and Hume, it cannot he denied that Hume was a true liberal and deadly earnest about the necessity and desirability of a political organization. He secured the sympathy and support of the Government officials and public men in India and England for the Indian National Congress. Thus the movement was a child both of England and India. Recent researches have proved that Hume was an enlightened imperialist. He started the Indian National Congress as a rival organisation to that of Surendranath Banerjee and made it a forum of pro-British and anti-Russian propaganda.

9.3.1.Meetings of INC

The First session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay in December 1885 under the president ship of W.C. Banerjee. The meeting was held at the Gokul das Tejpa Sanskrit college. It was attended by seventy two persons. The president defined the objects of the Congress as follows:

1. The Promotion of personal intimacy and friendship among all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in various parts of the empire.
2. The eradication, by direct friendly intercourse, of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of the Country and the fuller development and consolidation of the sentiments of a national unity that took their origin in our beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.
3. The authoritative record of the mature opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing social questions of the day.
4. The determination of the methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in public interest.

The second meeting of the Indain National Congress, was held at Calcutta in 1886 and was presided over by Dadabhai-Naoroji. Dadabhai praised the British Raj as a blessing and he was cheered by the members of the audience. This session was attended by 434 delegates in December 1886. Hume moved a resolution for three cheers for Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress and further resolution for the long life of the Queen. Lord Dufferin invited the members of Congress as distinguished visitors to a garden at the Government House.

The third session of the Congress was held at Madras in 1887. Badruddin Tyabji presided over the session. It was attended by 607 delegates who were entertained at tea by the Governor of Madras. Thus what in 1885 was little more than an experiment, bore every appearance of becoming a permanent national institution in 1887. During its early years, the Congress was a sort of ramshackle, set of local linkages. whose task was to organise an annual "tamasha". There was no paying members, no permanent organisation, no officials other than General secretary, no central offices and no fund. Each year the annual conference was held in a different city. A reception Committee was locally recruited and it collected funds. hired lodging and generally prepared for the winter meeting. Each session was a separate and independent undertaking so far as its organisation and finances were concerned.

9.3.2. Resolutions

1) That the viceroy's and the Governor's Executive Council should be enlarged respectively and made to have more Indians and respresentative elements in team; 2) that the defence budget should be reduced, and English officers be

replaced by Indian officers; 3) that the Secretary of State for India and his Indian Council be done away with; 4) that the local bodies may be given more powers and a degree of autonomy in local affairs; 5) reduction in salt tax: 6) that Indian textile industry may be revived and new industries may be set up so as to create more jobs for the unemployed Indian youth; 7) that judiciary may be freed from the pressure of the executive; 8) that the interests of the Indians living abroad may be safeguarded; 9) that competitive examination for recruitment to civil services may also be held in India; 10) that the peasants may be protected from exploitation by the landlords; 11) that the burdern of tax and rent of land be reduced; 12) that the press may be granted freedom of expression; 13) that rural banks may be setup to offer loans to the agriculturists at a low rate of interests; 14) that he Indians may not be excluded from higher ranks of services; 15) that the economic condition of the people be improved; 16) that facilities may be provided for more technical and industrial education in India and; 17) that more colleges for military training be set up in the country.

9.4. EXTREMIST MOVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS

According to P.B. Sinha, the history of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1917 centered round four factors.

1) Liberalism, as represented by the Liberals or the Moderates.
2) Radicalism as represented by (a) the 'Extemists' or the Nationalist and (b) the revolutionaries or the Militant Nationalists.
3) Struggle of the masses-peasants and workers: and
4) Muslim Communalism (a factor that continued for years together)

During the first phase of the history of the Indian national Congress it drew its principles and inspiration from the Western ideas that were making a head-way in India. They had a searching influence on the theory of reforms.

The First meeting of the Congress under the presidency of W.C. Banerjee passed nine resolutions which 1) appointment of a royal Commission to enquire into the working of Indian administration 2) abolition of the Indian Council of Secretary of State 3) creation of Legislative Councils in the Northwest Frontier, Oudh and Punjab. 4) admission of elected members in the Legislative Council with the right of interpellation and discussions. 5) reduction of military expenditure and 6) the introduction of simultaneous public service examination in the UK and in India are very important. The Congress adopted the methods of passing 1) resolutions 2) sending of representive deputations and 3) presentation of petition. The Congress held regular meetings and made every effort to focus public opinion on important national problems of the days. The most important and noteworthy fact is that the Congress carried out vigorous activities and adopted methods to influence the public opinion in England also.

In the beginning, the attitude of the British towards the Congress was friendly, and when it grew in power and prestige they openly denounced and comdemned it to the core. From 70 members attending the first meeting of the Congress (1885), it grew to 406 in the second (1886) and 600 in the third (1887). The Viceroy welcomed the delegates of the second meeting as "distinguished visitors" and third-was received by the Governor of Madras. The brilliant pamphlet prepared and published by A.O. Hume on the real aim of the foundation of the Congress began to work to mould the policy of the Government and led to its hostile attitude and gave it the chance of hindering its working. Hume advocated the idea of democratic government in India and the adoption of parliamentary system was demanded by the Congress.

On the resolution adopted in the fifth session of the Congress. The Times commented, "if they were carried out, very little would remain to England except, the liability for the entire Indain debt". "India was won by force and must be governed by force" was its recommendation. The Anglo-Indian press denounced it as an evil deluge", In 1889, G. Hamilton, the Secretary of State suggested to Lord Elgin, three means to counter act the activities of the Congress: 1) to ascertain the amount of co-operation among the princes and noblemen who subscribed to the Congress. ii) to award honours and distinction to those who stayed away from the Congress iii) by the extension of education, organisation and preparation of text books. In 1900 Lord Curzon wrote to Hamilton 'My own belief that the Congress is tottering to its fall find one of my ambitions while in India is to see a peaceful demise".

Despite the Government's hostility, popularity grew day after day. Its hostility continues till 1906 when there arose two sections in the Congress, one resorted to 'militancy' as its policy and the other ascribed to a policy of 'constitutional agitation' and cooperated support to the policies of the Congress; its method of action are its achievements. Mr. Pradlaugh wrote. "For whom should I work if not to the people? Born of people, trusted to the people, I will die for the people, I known no georgraphical or racial limitations".

During the first phase, the Congress had done a great amount of spadework in arousing national awakening, political education and in uniting Indians and creating in them the consiousness of a common Indian nationality. It also succeeded in effecting a breach in the outer rampart of benevolent despostism. The parliamentary enquiry into the administrative problem and the political rights conceded to the people by the Indian Act 1909 could also be counted as the gain of the Congress. At the insistence of the Congress the restrictions put on the political liberty of the officials were lifted.

The concessions gained out of the Council Act of 1892 were shameful and the policies of the Congress invited severe criticism and bitterest attcks by the progressive leaders in India. The Congress of the day represented only the upper strata of the society and not the masses. illiterate and poor. They believed in loyalty to the British Crown and relied upon solemn pledges given by the Government. They ascribed to orderly progress and constitutional agitation. They had faith in patience, steadiness, and union. They were aware of the fact India was a nation in the making. They criticised individual administrative measures and worked for a system to wipe out corruption, inefficiency and oppression. These meagre achievements and less impressive method could not satisfy the younger elements and ultimately, led to the extremist uprising.

9.4.1. Partition of Bengal

The Governor Generalship of Lord Curzon is a great landmark in the history of the freedom movement in India, he attempted to establish control over the universities and municipalities. This act of Lord Curzon created great discontent and provoked keen protest all over India. The partition of Bengal in the teeth of an angry, unanimous opposition was the "crowning act of his folly". Bengal was the most populous Province in British India, having an area of 1,89,900 square miles with a population of 78 ½ million, and a gross revenue of more than eleven crores. The government regarded the size of the Province to be too unwieldly to be properly administered by single person. Towards the end of the year 1903, the Government of Lord Curzon proposed to separate the whole of Chitagong Division and the Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh from Bengal, and incorporate them with Assam. Many a number of politicians, landlords and educationists raised hue and cry against the publication of the scheme. Protest meetings were held in towns and villages, no less than 500 being held in East Bengal alone within two months.

Lord Curzon under took a tour in East Bengal ostensibly with the object of ascertaining public opinion, but really to overawe it. He was very much convinced of the unity, solidarity and strength of the public opposition to any scheme of partitioning Bengal stet. He decided to remove this danger by breaking the solidarity of the Bengalis. He now conceived the much more comprehensive plan of dividing the Bengal speaking area into two separate provinces-the whole of Northern and Easter Bengal with Assam forming the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam and Western Bengal with Bihar and Orissa constituting the Province of Bengal. In East Bengal, the Muslims politically less advanced and more loyal to the British than the Hindus would be in a majority, whereas in Bengal, the Bengalis could from a minority by the coalition of Bihar and Orissa".

It is clear that Lord Curzon wanted to keep the difference between the Hindus and Muslims as a dominant factor in Indian politics. R.C. Majumdar says, "So viewed in true perspective, the partition of Bengal set the ball rolling and ultimately smashed the imperial fabric which the British had reared with so much care in India". The partition of Bengal led to the partition of the empire". It was a master-plan to destroy the nascent nationalism in Bengal.

9.4.2. Swadeshi Movement

This partition resulted in an outburst of indignation, agitation and reaction. The people of Bengal did not fail to take the utmost advantage of the constitutional resources at their disposal. The Indian Press and a few of the British Press raised caustic criticisms and advocated the repeal of the Act and reversal of the order.

Indifference of the Government of India to public opinion against the "partition of Bengal" led the people to hit upon the device of boycott of British goods and purchase of Swadeshi goods. It was a great departure from the traditional method of Indian politics. At first it was purely a local movement directed against specific administrative measure concerning only the Province of Bengal. But within a short time it shot up as a national struggle of all India character against the British which never ceased till India won her Independence.

The Original conception of boycott was mainly on economic grounds.Firstly, it tried to bring pressure upon the British public by the boycott of British goods, Secondly, it was regarded as essential for the revival of indigenous (Swedeshi) industry which could never grow in the face of free competition with foreign countries which had a highly developed industry. Instead of helping the nascent

Indain Industry with protective duty, the British imposed excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India. Therefore, it was thought that Indian industry could flourish if foreign goods were boycotted. To carry out the programme of boycott of foreign goods, goods should be produced were boycotted. To carry out the programme of boycott of foreign goods, goods should be produced in India and supplied in abundance, "Thus the two proposals, namely refusal to buy foreign goods and the promotion of indigenous industry, were indissolubly bound up together. It cannot be denied that boycott served the two purposes, like a double edged sword-industrial and political.

9.4.3. Repression by Lord Minto

Lord Curzon had left a sea of troubles as his legacy to Lord Minto, the next Viceroy of India. As an aftermath of the partition of Bengal many secret societies, sworn to do away with the British Raj in India sprang up in many parts of the country.

This new movement, officially designated as Terrorism was widely spread and responsible for large scale murders of both Indians and Europeans. Terrorism was the offshoot of the swadeshi movement launched against the partition of Bengal and particularly against Sir Bamfydle Fuller, the Lieutenant Governor of the newly created Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Grave discontent and excitement prevailed throughout the province of the Punjab and there was a vigourous nationalist propaganda through the press and on the platform. But the terrorist and militant activities could not make a headway in the Punjab.The government took vindictive measures, arrested the leaders and kept them in jail.The publication by an Anglo-Indian press of a news-probably a rumour of the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolt of 1857 took almost all British administrative officers by surprise and terrors. The compaign of sedition and the programme for organised propaganda were in full swing. The seditious meetings Act of 1907 severly restricted the right of holding public meetings. The Explosive Substances Act of 1908 laid down heavy penalty for possessing materials for manufacturing bombs. The Newspapers (Incitement Offences) Act of 1908 placed many restrictions on its liberty and was brought under the control of the magistrate. Leading patriotic papers like Bande Mataram, Sandhya and Yugenta stopped their publications. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act changed the system of trial for facilitating conviction and armed the executive with almost unlimited powers over individual person and political organisations. The Indian

Press Act of 1910 laid down heavy fines, including forfeiture of press for seditious publications. Books, newspapers or other documents containing 'prohibited' matters were to be forfeitured. During the period of 1910-1919 over 350 presses and 300 newspapers were penalized and 500 publications prescribed, securites amounting to about rupees five lakhs and a quarter were demanded. Many leading journals editied by Indians felt the burden of repression. Minto's hand fell on a large number of persons for seditious activities. Mere suspicion by the police led the press and individuals were heavy and burdensome. In Maharashtra, Tilak was prosecuted for seditious writings and he was sentenced to six year deportation In the Punjab the weapons of the Government were directed against Lala Lajpat Roy and Ajit Singh. To quote R.C. Majumdar. "The repressive laws curtailing the liberty of the people to publicly express their views orally or in writing and the prosecution of hundreds under these laws were continued in full force. The political movement went underground and terrorist activities in the shape of murder and decoities also continued unchecked".

The revoulutionary dortrines of the West, the violent revolution for independence in France the gruesome wars fought in the thirteen colonies of North America for their liberation, the prolonged fighting Italy and Germany for their liberation, the most bloody struggle waged by the slaves and orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire as preached by Jeafferson. Voltaire Rousseau, and Montesquieu spread far and wide in India. The pen pictures of Karl Marx on India and his descriptive articles published in The Daily Tribune of America were vastly read by the readical elements in India. The different stages of the freedom struggle fought by the people on Ireland to liberate them from the British were historic example to the people of India. The role played by Daniel O' Connell, Parnell, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Mirabeau, Danton and Robespierre in the liberation movement of their respective countries left an indelible imprint in the minds of the radicals in India. The banning of the Book (1909) written by V.D. Savarkar on the great Revolt of 1857 created a sense of non-co-operation to the British Government in India. The utter humiliation of Indians abroad in the countries of South Arica added fuel to the fire. The Indians were described in the Statute Book of South Africa as "Semi barbarous Asiatics or persons belonging to uncivilized India".

The new religious movements started by patriots and nationalists of India assuered reawakening of Indians if they could trace the past history of India. The greatness of India's ancient culture and political achievements retold in militant language had an immediate effect on the people.

The leadership of the trio Lal, Bal and Pal, their speeches, messages and writings aroused a militant spirit all over India. The 'Lal-Bal-Pal' formula with the inclusion of Aurobindo Ghosh meant terrorism in Indian Politics. They imparted the sense of boldness, self-confidence and self-reliance to their followers. Tilak's inauguration of the festivals connected with Ganapathi and Shivaji. Bepin Chandra Pall's thundering speeches against the partition of Bengal and Lala Lajpat Roy's exhortations of the Punjabis to awake and fight had their immediate effect on Indian politics. Tilak thundered. "We are masters of our fortunes and can govern them if only we make up our minds to do so. Swaraj is not far off from us. It will come to us the moment we learn to stand on our own legs".

The burst out of the fire of the Muslim communalism and the efforts of the British to patronise had created an acute atmosphere in India. The proposal to include the demands of the Muslims in the Act of the 1908' windened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The dream of the Indians to create a united India remained an unfulfilled desire. The seeds of the partition of India into two dominions were sown in the founding of the Muslim League in 1906 and in the encouragement given to it by the British Government. The lofty and powerful ferment was represented by Bakhim Chandra Chatterji, Rash Bahari Bose and a Vivekananda. They infused a religious colour to Indian struggle for freedom and the revolutionary speeches of Vivekananda moved millions of hears Vivekananda imparted courage and confidence through Gita and Bankim Chandra through Ananda Matha, Guided by the spirit of making supreme sacrifices for the sake of the country, they approached their tasks with a spiritual flavour and embraced death cheerfully.

The spearhead of the revolutionary movement was formed by a band of young men under the leadership of Birendra Kumar Ghose. He was convinced that a purely political propaganda would not be sufficient to bring forth the desired effect. They propagated their ideas through the publication of books and periodicals. They trained their followers in guerilla warfare and to face dangers fearlessly.

The Anusilan Samiti, the first terrorist organisation, was founded by P. Mitra. The members of this Samiti were trained in military drill, sword play, boxing, wrestling and other exercises. They were also given moral and patriotic training through regular weekly classes and general conversations by eminent men. Sister Nivedita and Count Terauchi, the Japanese premier and Court Okuma a former Premier played an impressive role in the Samiti.

Under these circumstances, the Radicals and the Terrorist started their revolutionary activities. The first bomb was prepared for killing B.Fuller, the lieutenant Governor of East Bengal. Profulla Chandra Ray was deputed to carry out this plot. The attempt failed. The next attempt was against Kingford, a judge at Muzafarpur in Bihar. Profulla Chandra Ray and Guciram Bose threw a bomb at a carriage which resemble that of Kingford. One Mr. Kennedy, his wife and daughter were killed, Profulla shot himself dead and Guciram Bose was tried and executed. This incident took place on 30th April 1908. Two days after many bombs and other objectionable materials were seized at Muraripur. Thirtyfour extermeists courted arrest. The case was conducted at Allipore and hence the title Allipore Conspiracy Case. Some of the accused were deported, tried and punished. The officer who tried this case and the Deputy Superintendent of the case were shot dead. The priciples preached and methods adopted by the revolutionaries did not appeal to a considerable number of young revolutionaries. This resulted in the split of the Samiti one under Aurobindo and the other under P. Mitra. Further splits weakened the Samiti. A group of followers took Pulin Behari Das as their leader and another section grouped under the leadership of Rash Bose. The mother society thus withered away leaving only one branch, the Dacca Aunsilan Samiti led by Pulin Behari Das. The main features of the new cult emphasized by Birenda failed to fetch the effect in Bengal.

Societies were formed to import physical and military training to the revolutionaries in Maharashtra. Vasudeo Balwant Phadek (1845-1883) was the first to start such kind of revolutionary societies in Maharashtra. His method of secretly collecting arms, imparting military training to youth and securing necessary funds by means of political dacoities was adopted by the founders of these socities.

Ganapathi and Shivaji slogans were recited during festivals "We shall cut countless heads of enemies; we shall risk our lives on the battlefield in a national war. We shall set upon the earth the life blood of the enemies who destroyed our religion; we shall die after killing". On 22nd June 1887 the Chapiaker brothers murdered two British officals on their way home after attending the Jubilee

Ceremony of Queen Victoria. They were caught and hanged but their terrorist society survived. The Arya Bendeo Samaj are voluntary organisation founded during these days by P.S. Khankoja aimed at driving the British away from India by war. He was deputed to Japan to collect weapons. Tilak and Lajpat Roy kept close association with the society. The Most revolutionary elements of the society were the Savarkar brothers of Nasik. In 1906 Savarkar left for London where he became a leading figur in the circle of Indian revolutionaries. In his absence, his brother Savakar became the leader of revolutionary activities in Nasik. He founded the Abhinava Bharat Society. In 1907 he printed at Poona 2000 copies of the Autobiography of Mazini. Its introduction recommended reliance of youth, storing of weapons, opening of factories for the manufacture of weapons and elevating politics to the rank of religion. one of his poems runs "Take up the sword and destroy the Government because it is foreign and aggressive".

V.D. Savarkar was sentenced to deportation for life from 9th June 1909. On 1st July. 1906 Madanlal Dhingra murdered W.C. Wyllie at a gathering at the imperial Institute in London. A statement runs: "I attempted to shed English blood intentionally and of purpose as a humble protest against the inhuman deportation and hangings of Indian youths". Mr. Jackson who was deputed to carry out the trial of Savarkar, was shot dead. The Government severly punished seven members and three were executed for this crime. The Nasic Conspiracy was wholly unearthed; thirty eight men were put to trial and twenty seven brutally punished.

Revolutionary ideals and terrorist activities spread all over the Punjab and secret societies were organised to wreak vengeance upon the ruthless British. Ajit Sing, Ambet Prasad and Har Dayal were the dominant figures of the society started in 1904 in Sherampur District. The arrest of Arya Samaj leaders and the implementation of the Colonisation Act were severly attacked. Meanwhile disturbances started in Rawalpindi due to the exorbitant Municipial Acts. The People were infuriated and driven to commit excesses and courted arerest. The news of arrest spread a wave of indignation at Lahore and the police lathi charged the people. Fearing an outbreak on 10th May, 1907 the fiftieth anniversary of the 1857 Revolt the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab managed to deport Roy and Ajit Singh to Mahdalay. The Punjab organized an armed rebellion but the authorities detected the Conspiracy in 1909. The group headed by Rash Bihari

Gosh threw a bomb at Hardinage in December, 1912. His attempts failed owing to the betrayal of his countrymen.

Revolutionary activities were organised in Madras and neighbouring areas also. A seires of lectures delivered by B.C. Roy forced the Tamils to resort to militant activities. Early in 1908 copies of a pamphlet descriping secret organisations of the Russians were found in possession of students. On 9th March, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai delivered speech in Tinnevelly asking the people to boycott everthing foreign and assuring them that in three months they would obtain Swaraj. On 12th March 1908 both V.O.C. and Subrahmania Siva were arrested and on 13th a riot broke out in Tinnevelly. Many public buildings were attacked and partially burnt while furniture and records were set on fire. Some sort of secret associations was organized by Nilakanta Brahmachari. He was soon joined by Vanchi Aiyar, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department in Decmber, 1910.V.V.S. Aiyar a follower of V.D. Savarkar, came to Pondicherry and began training young men in handling weapons. On 17th June, 1911, Vanchi Aiyar shot dead Mr.Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly, in a railway carriage at Maniachi near Tinnevelly. A Letter of this revolutionary reads "that 3000 Madrasis had taken a vow to kill George V as soon as he landed in the country". To inform this earlier to the British, Vanchi has done that murder. As a result of this Tinnevelly Conspiracy nine persons were found guilty of conspiracy against the State.

Earlier in 1887 as a result of the efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji, the grand old man of India, The Indian Reform Association was founded in the U.K. The Labour Leader Charles Bradlaugh openly supported this association and assumed in the parliament the title of the member for Indians. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress was founded in 1889. The Journal 'India' started by this committee, had as its successive editors William Digby, Havlock and Henry Cotton. Dadabhai was elected to the British Parliamentary committee in England who was encouraged by the liberal views of Sir William Wedderburn.

9.4.4. Movements Abroad For India's Freedom

The leader of the Indian National Congress pinned their faith on the honesty and sense of justice of the people of Great Britain and took various steps to carry on propaganda among the English, French, Americans, Germans, Japanese and Russians. The Nationalists of India wanted to establish useful international contacts to interpret India's aspirations and gain help and sympathy for Indian cause. They visited many countries, delivered fiery speeches and published many patriotic articles. Even Dadabhai Naroji took up the cause of India and represented it at the Congress of Socialists (1904) at Amsterdam. The Freeman's Journal, Sydney, New South Wales, The Indian Sociologist, London carried on propaganda through the press.

In 1905, Shyamji Krishnavarma started the Indian Home Rule Society in London. **The Sociologist,** the paper of this Society was largely responsible for the spread of ideas of Indian freedom in England. Varma instituted six scholarships to attract many Indians towards England. Savarkar Madanlal Dhingra were the most revolutionary disciples of Varma. Their centre of activity was the India House. They aimed at absolute freedom to India. They laid much stress on passive resistance in an extreme form. Madam Cama, an associate of Varma, left for Europe to preach the philosophy of freedom in 1917. She made a fiery speech in the international Socialist Congress in Germany. She concluded the speech with her unfolding the national flag, a tricolour in red, yellow and green. Her resolution made it known that continuance of British rule in India was positively disastrous and extremely injurious to the best interest of India. But this solution was not allowed by the President on technical grounds.

The British press began a continuous attack on Shyamji. Therefore, he left London for Paris. On account of the outbreak of the First World War, he left for Switzerland and stayed there till 1930. In his absence V.D. Savarkar assumed the political leadership of the India House. In 1907 he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolt of 1857 and in 1908, published a book. "The First War of Independence". In 1909, this group murdered Wyllie. Dhingra was hanged and Savarkar was arrested deported to India for trial. Thus, the activities of the India House came to an end.

By 1910 there were about 30,000 Indian workers in the U.S.A. The revolutionary idea that were making a headway in India reached the ears of the Punjabis in the U.S.A. As a result of the Indian influence was founded the Gadar Party in 1913. H. Khanakhoje and a few Indian students in California established an organisation in 1907, the Indian Independence League. There were about 400 members in it they carried on a propaganda among the Sikh population in the U.S.A. In 1910, Poland became their centre of activity. After 1913, they changed the name into Gadar Movement. In the first election of the Association Sohan Singh and Bakhna Har Dayat were elected president and secretary respectively.

Till, 1918, they had their headuarters at 436 Hill Street, San Francisco and named the party's central offices as Yuganta Ashram. Har Dayal was the central spirit of the movement in U.S.A. and concluded that he must have been the founder of the Gadar Party. The party published a paper 'Gadar' and other pamphlets. It declared, "Today there begins in foreign lands a war against the British Raj. What is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny Where will the Mutiny breakout? in India". The journal sought to arouse the national self respect of the Indians. It used to urge the Indians to rise in arms, to drive away the British from India It preached (a) hoisting of revolutionary flag (b) the breaking of jails (c) the looting of treasuries (d) propagation of seditious literature (e) procuring of arms (f) manufacture of bombs (g) formation of secret societies (h) destruction of railways and telegraphs and (i) recruitment of young men for revolutionary activities. The new immigration policy of U.S.A. gave a rude shock to the power and prestige of the party. The British Government encouraged the U.S.A. to declare the Indians as orientalists. Har Dayal lost the sympathy of Americans. Har Dayal was arrested on the ground that he was a dangerous character but secretly escaped to Switzerland. There he edited the paper Banda Mataram. One Ramachandra was left in charge of the affairs of the Gadar Party. Towards the twentieth Century its strength dwindled.

On the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 between England and Germany, India felt that England's adversity was India's opportunity. The Indian students in Germony tried to break into revolt against the British with German help even in 1911. They succeeded, for the Germans utilized revolutionary activities of the Indians against the British. They planned to stir up armed rebellion in India in order that the British would be forced to send back the Indian army from the western front to India, and thereby considerably weakening the scope of victory for the British. An organisation was established in Berlin and friendly relations were maintained with the U.S.A.

Birendra Nath Chathopadayaya, the brother of Sarojini Naidu published a pamphlet **"Japan the Enemy of Asia"**. With the support of the Germans, the Indians started German union of Friendly India. The Committee began its work by training Indians in the preparation of explosives, in 1920, the committee excluding the Germans called itself Indian Independence Commission. The members of this commission sent men and money to India to materialise and mobilise support for an armed struggle. It was decided to attack Burma where the Germans in China would come to their help. One ship with 500 German officials and 1000 soldiers would proceed to the Andamans, release the political prisoners and go to Calcutta. The second would go to some other place in Bengal and a third would go to the western coast. The German Government accepted its army going to Iran. This was not approved by the Berlin Commission. The British Commission (or Committee) sent a telegram to Trotsky requesting him to make a proposal for the self determination of India. After 1917, the Committee devoted its energy mainly to the work of propagation. Champakraman Pillai of Nagercoil (Boodapandi) was a member of the Berlin Committee. He made Germany as his home for twenty years. During his stay in Germany, he carried on revolutionary propaganda through out Germany. Numerous sub-committees of the International pro India associations in Germany were started in Manila. Peking and Tokyo. The German revolutionaries of India kept continuous friendly relation with the Association in California. After the collapse of Germany at the end of First World War all these Societies were liquidated.

According to P.B. Sinha the Russian Government appeared to be the most probable ally of India in an anti British struggle in the beginning. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to secure help from the Tsarist Government. The Extremists of India were called to adopt Russian methods of agitation in fighting with their rulers. It is generally accepted that the new theme of non-resistance to evil by violence of Leo Tolstoy had influenced Mahatma Gandhi a lot. To quote P.B.Sinha, "If the victory of Japan and the defeat of Russia in the Russo – Japanese war raised the self confidence and morale of the Indians, then the first Russian Revolution showed an example of successful struggle of the people for constitutional and democractic rights".

9.5 LET US SUM UP

This lesson provides a detail study of the Genesis and growth of Indian national congress. Natimalism in India arose to meet the challenge of foreign domination. The congress organized with two main purposes and those were to provide 'safety valve' to the anticipated or actual discontentment of the India intelligentsia and to firm a quasi constitutional party similar to Her Majesty's opposition is England. During the first phase, the Congress had done a great amount of spade work in arousing national awakening, political education and in uniting Indian and creating in them the consciousness of a common Indian nationality. And the second part of the congress was the leadership of the trio Lal, Bal and pal. Their speeches, messages and writings aroused a militant spirit all over India. And the third phase of the congress had done a great adventures of Indian history with the help of mahatma Gandhi. During this period India got independence from English.

9.6. KEY WORDS

1. **Deportation** - removing
2. **Intentionally** - deliberately
3. **Lieutenant** - navy officer.
4. **Extricated** - release.

9.7. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1.	Refer Section No.9.1.3.
For Question No 2.	Refer Section No.9.15
For Question No 3.	Refer Section No.9.2.
For Question No 4.	Refer Section No.9.3.
For Question No 5.	Refer Section No.9.3.1.
For Question No 6.	Refer Section No.9.3.2.
For Question No 7.	Refer Section No.9.4.
For Question No 8.	Refer Section No.9.4.2.

9.8. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

P. Spear., - India, A modern History.
S. Ghosh., - Leaders of modern India.
Tara Chand., - History of Freedom movement in India Vol. I –iV, 1961
A. Seal., - The emergence of Indian Nationalism.
Gopal Ram., -- How the British occupied Bengal.

9.9. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Critically examine the achievements of the "Boycott and swadeshi movement launched to win India's freedom.
2. What led to the rise of "Extremists" in the Congress and bring out their policies and methods
3. Describe the activities of the Extremists abroad to a gain India's freedom.
4. What were the factors that led to the rise of the nationalist movement in India.

LESSON -10

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT – IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES

INTRODUCTION

Many individuals used the Indian national congress as a vehicle for the pursuit of their own rivalries. In particular individual cases, this may have been true enough. But generally turning it, to the extent of playing down ideology and patriotic motivation, is not only cynical but misses the point that the articulation of such ideas influenced millions. Among them Gokhalae, Tilak, Lal, Besnt, V.O.C were some important persons in the congress. They had the best opportunity and an exposure to their nationalistic ideas to the nation.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the student will be able to

- Know about the important personalities.
- Understand the national activities.
- Recognise the Tamil leaders.
- Analyse the moderate's and extremist's ideas.

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Home Rule Instead of Swaraj
  10.1.1 Work of Annie Besant
  10.1.2 Tilak's Contribution
  10.1.3 Montague Declaration
  10.1.4 Significance of the August Declaration
10.2 Gopala Krishna Gokhale
10.3 Bal Gangadhar Tilak
10.4 Annie Besant
10.5 Lala Lajpat Rai
10.6 V.O. Chidambaram Pillai
10.7 Let us sum up
10.8 Key words
10.9 Answer for CYP Questions
10.10 Books for further Reading
10.11 Question. and Exercise

10.1 HOME RULE INSTEAD of SWARAJ

When Great Britain was involved in the First World War Indian leaders like Tilak and Annie Besant decided to put new life to the national movement in the country. As the English men of not like the word Swaraj and considered the same to be 'Seditious and dangerou's Tilak decided to use the term "Home Rule" in place of Swaraj, as the goal of his movement. On 25 April 1916 the Indian Home Rule League was set up with its headquarters at Poona. The object of this League was to "attain Home Rule or Self – Government within the British Empire by all constitutional meaning and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same.

10.1.1 Work of Annie Besant :

The idea of starting a Home Rule League originated with Annie Besant, and she announced it on 25 September, 1915. Annie Besant was an Irish lady by birth but an Indian by domicile and religious outlook. She had great regard for Indian culture and vedic philosophy. She was comparatively speaking, a new figure in the political field but her activities as the head of the Theosophical Society had made her name quite familiar in India. She came to this county in 1893 and devoted herself to the cause of social and educational uplift with undaunted energy. She came to realize that no real improvement could be effected without raising the political status of India. She argued that a free India was likely to be a more dependable friend of Great Britain than a dependent one. She was equally convinced that the Indian National Congress, under the guidance of its Moderate leaders was not likely to achieve much. With characteristic energy she plunged herself into the political struggle. As early as 1913 she championed the cause of the building up of India into a mighty self governing community. The definite campaign for Home Rule began earlier with the publication of weekly review. The Common wealth on 2, January 1914. The paper adopted as its programme religious liberty, national education, social reform and political reform aiming at self government for India within the British Commonwealth. In 1914 Besant went to England to try to form an Indian party in Parliament. The attempt failed but she roused sympathy for the cause of India by her public address declaring that "The price of India's loyalty is India's freedom". On her return to India she bought a daily paper in Madras and renamed it New Delhi. In September 1915, She made a speech at Bombay, pleading India's case for Home Rule or self - government.

On 25 September 1915, Besant made a formal announcement of her decision to start the “Home Rule League” as an auxiliary to the Indian National Congress and moved a resolution to the effect in the Congress session at Bombay the Moderate leaders did not like the idea as they though that such a new organization would weaken the Congress. Besan`ts resolution on Home Rule was ruled out by the president on the ground that it contravened the Article of the Congress constitution which restricted the scope of the demand for self government by the worlds “bringing about a steady reform of the existing systems of administration”. In the end it was decided that a draft scheme should be prepared by the All-India Congress Committee, after consulting other bodies, Besant having agreed to abide by this decision of the All India Congress Committee, postponed the formation of the League.

The draft Rule scheme which was to be prepared by the All India Congress Committee before 1st September, 1916, having not been reduced by that date, Besant considered herself absolved of the undertaking and decided to organize the Home Rule League on a regular basis. It was formally inaugurated in September, 1916 and within a few days branches were formed at Bombay, Kanpur, Allahabad, Varnasi, Madhura, Calcutta, Ahmednagar and Madras.

Besant began active propaganda by personal addresses and through her two papers **New India** and **Common Wheel**. She set up Home Rule organizations all over the country, made extensive tours, delivered stirring addresses and distributed vast quantities of propagandist literature. Her short period of political activity of less than five years was marked by an “indominatable be will, undaunted courage, and indefatigable Zeal”. Her superb-oratory and matchless literary gifts enabled her to reach the foremost rank in politics in an incredibly short time.

10.1.2. Tilak’s Contribution

In the meantime Tilak had also taken up the idea of Home Rule. Tilak and his extremist group agreed to the politics and programmes of Besant. The moderates were reluctant in their approval of Home Rule. So Besant for sometime did not get much success in reuniting the moderates and the extremists under the banner of the Congress. But with the death of Gokhale in February 1915 and of Ferozshah Metha in November of the same year, the moderate group became leader less. Besant utilized the opportunity for prevailing upon with the groups to work together again.

The advocates of the Home Rule Movement believed in constitutional methods and were opposed to violence and revolutionary agitation. They were prepared to offer their co-operation to the British Government so that it could win the war. When the First World War started in Europe. Tilak was released from Mandalay Jail in Burma at the end of six years term. He was accorded a hero's reception by the nationalists. His presence gave a stimulus to patriotic fervour.

During 1917, the two Home Rule Leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant worked in co-operation with each other. The Home Rule League raised the slogan of Swadesi, National Education and Home Rule for India. The Movement gathered momentum with lightning speed. Tilak confined his activities to the province of Bombay and the Central Provinces. The rest of the country was left to Annie Besant. Branches of the Home Rule Leagues were set up all over the country. There was a popular demand for Home Rule.

Tilak went on a whirlwind tour of the country in 1916 and appealed to the people to unite under the banner of the Home Rule League. His target for attack was not British Empire but bureaucracy. He declared emphatically that Home Rule was the only cure for India's political ills and grievances, and liberty was the birth right of every man and that the aspiration to get one liberty was the essence of human nature. A small minority from outside India could not be allowed to rule arbitrarily. Week after week Tilak wrote stirring articles in his two papers – The Maratha and The Kesari, urging for Home Rule. About the middle of 1916, Tilak under an extensive lecture tour for instructing masses on Home Rule and exhorting them to become members of the Home Rule League. He appealed mainly to the masses and spoke to them in homely language with simple illustrations such as could easily bring home to them the idea of self Government.

Tilak's homely speeches and direct appeals made him not only popular but a hero among the masses. he earned the epithet Lokamanya (Respected by the people) and was almost worshipped as God. Wherever he went he received a right royal reception. He appealed to the people to imbibe the virtues of patriotism, fearlessness and sacrifice and held out the National hero Shivaji as their model.

In his Belgaum speech, Tilak state. "Those who are ruling over you do not belong to your religion, race or even country… we don't want the secretary of state who has been created a son-in-law. Basic changes must be brought about so as to promote the well being of the people. The Swarajya agitation now carried on in belief that this administration, if carried on by some one else, or some other visible form would be more beneficial to the people than when carried on by some one else, or some other visible form would be more beneficial to the people than when carried on by those by whose hands it is now carried on. The system which is subsisting now is not wanted by us. To entrust to the people the responsibility of administering their own affairs is the best principle in politics. There is no question about this. The same principle prevail in the country of those that are governing here in this land of ours. When these people go back to their country they have to uphold that principle. We want rights. We want a certain sort of arrangement giving happiness. We will get it. Out children will get it. Make the effect that is to be made. Be ready, to do this work with the thought that the country belongs to you".

After visiting Belgaum, Tilak went to Ahmednagar, Nasik and many other places. His compaign at Ahmednagar, gathered momentum and gave an impetus to the struggle for independence. In one of his speeches he declared that the man who had to live in England and manage the affairs of the whole empire got Rs 5,000 while the person who carried on the administration of India got Rupees 20,000 per month. Tilak again states for the sort of injustice that is taking place in India. Tilak again states. For the sort of injustice that is taking place in India there is no other remedy than that the Power should pass into the people's hand and rest in the people. We must decide upon the arrangement as regards what is to be done in our home. What is to be done in our country. There are no means of salvation for us unless we have self rule in our possession". In July 1916 Tilak exhorted the assembled gathering to devote themselves to the cause of Nationalism and state "the National work which faces us today is so great, extensive and urgent that you and I must work together with all the courage and enthusiasm we can master. It is Motherland that calls every one of us to be up and doing and I hope that her sons will not fail her". After the conclusion of the Congress session in 1916. Tilak and Besant visited many parts of India and these visits were referred to police reports, as triumphant tours. Largely attended meetings were addressed by them and many leaders who had latter belonged to the Moderate party joined the Nationalist in welcoming them.

The Home Rule Movement was spreading all over India like wildfire. But the Bombay Government had prohibited Besant from entering into Bombay. Tilak and B.C. Pal were prohibited by the Governments of the Punjab and Delhi from entering into their jurisdiction. Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, wanted the people against the extravagant demends of Home Rule and uttered a threat which was soon followed by action. On 15th May 1917 the Governments of Madras issued orders of internment against Besant and her two co-workers. G.S. Arundale and B.P. Wadia. All this had an effect on political Indian just the opposite of what was intended.

The Government's determined hostility against the Home Rule Leagues and evident desire to declare them as illegal associations stirred the whole country. Sri Subramaniya Aiyar an eminent lawyer boldly stood forward as the champion of the Home rule League. he declared that he would stand up by the Home rule League even if the Government declared them illegal, and prepared to suffer any punishment that would be met out to him for Home Rule League if it was declared illegal.

The internment of Besant was adversely criticized even in Britain and other foreign countries. A storm of indignation swept India from one end to the other. Protest meetings were held all over the country and those nationalist leaders Who had hitherto stood also jointed the Home Rule League and actively participated in their campaigns. Even the placidity of the Congress was disturbed under the inspiration of Tilak. The All-India Congress Committee made vigrorous protests to the Viceroy against the repressive and reactionary policy and asked or an official declaration accepting the political demands of the Indians. They also asked for the release of Besant and her associates. They placed on record their appreciation of the work carried on by the Home Rule League, and as a mark of it elected Besant as president of the Congress Session in 1917. As a matter of fact Besant and her associates served the cause of Home Rule better in jail than if they had been free.

The Home Rule League was making rapid strides. At the end of the first year Tilak's League alone had 14,000 members. The Home Rule League was pledged to work zealously throughout the year for the sole object of achieving Home Rule. After the annual conference was over the workers redoubled their efforts to carry the Home Rule propaganda to the villagers. The local officials sent alarming reports of their seditious teaching and the Government of India was urged by the local Governments to take strong measures. The viceroy being impressed by the strength and popularity of the movement, put a brake on their order. but appraised the Secretary of State the real situation in India. While doing so, he observed "Besant, Tilak and others are fomenting with great vigour the agitation for immediate Home Rule and in the absence of any definite announcement by the Government of India as to their policy in the matter, it is attracting many of those who hitherto have held less advanced views. The agitation is having mischievous effect on public feeling throughout the country.

The Home Rule League was equally anxious that the Government would publicly declare their policy in England. Lord Pentland had ridiculed the idea of Home Rule in a public speech. Tilak took up the challenge and advised the Congress organization all over India not only to make vigorous protests but also to get up a master petition urging upon the Secretary of State to grant Home Rule to India. The influence of the Home Rule movement is best evidenced by the fact that both the Congress and the Muslim League considered the proposal of starting passive Resistance. Tilak knew that it was this agitation that had forced the Government to meet the Indian demands half way and it was therefore necessary to keep it alive in order to obtain substantial concessions from the Government. The Home Rule became more and more popular and tended to become a war movement though within a resticted Zone' in India.

The Home Rule League was also established in London. Besant sent a stirring message to British laborers concluding with the following words. "Help us to become a free Common Wealth under the British Crown and we will bring our manpower to secure the world peace. Our people have died in your War for freedom. Will you consent that the children of our dead shall remain subject race?

The activities of the Home Rule Leagues bore fruit, Eminent Americans and Englishmen wrote and spoke for self government in India. A Committee of members of Parliament was formed in London for the purpose of pressing forward the claims of India to self-government. The Labour party conference at Nottingham early in 1918, unanimously passed a resolution in favour of Home Rule for India.

The Home Rule Movement marked the beginning of a new phase in India's struggle for freedom. It placed before the country a concrete scheme for self government. The Home Rule Movement was the fitting end of Tilak's noble political career, Which shines brilliantly particularly in contrast to the transformation that came over his colleague. Besant a little later. This great movement shows him as high best-a sincere, fearless, unending patriot, who fought for his country with a religious zeal without caring for the favour, or frowns either of the people or of the government. An intellectual aristocrat he brought himself down to the level of the common people and initiated that mass movement in the political field which worked such a miracle in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi.

10.1.3. Montague Declaration, August 20, 1917

When the fortunes of the Allies were at their lowest ebb-and the Home Rule agitation was at the height the Indian question was taken up-seriously by His Majesty's Government in 1917. The government felt the dire necessity of placing Indian opinions by a declaration of policy in order to win whole hearted support of the Indians for the successful prosecution of war. The British Cabinet fully discussed the matter and a draft was prepared by Austin Chamberlian, the Secretary of State of India. Since the latter tendered resignation for the "Mesootamian Muddle". Montague , an intimate friend of India, succeeded him. He did not make any substantial change in the draft which was finally recast by Lord Curzon who substituted the words "Responsible Government" for "Self Government". On August 20, 1917, Montague made his famous announcement known as "August Declaration" in the House of Commons. The Declaration runs as follows. "The Policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire., They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible... I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the cooperation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility".

10.1.4. Significance of the August Declaration

The Declaration of 1917 is of great constitutional importance. For the first time declaration of such a momentous significance was made by the Britishers since the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown. It served as the basis of British Policy till the attainment of independence by the Indian. Though the words "dominion, and 'self government' were purposely avoided, yet it was implicit in this declaration that some day India was to be given self-government and she was to attain a 'Dominion Status'. The phrase 'realization and responsible government in India an integral part of the British Empire' conveys this sense in unmistakable terms. The Declaration thus continued an important mile stone on the road leading to self-government at no distant future.

The Declaration is indeed revolutionary in character. Lord Morely had in 1909 emphatically stated that he had absolutely no intention of introducing a parliamentary government in India. His successor, Lord Crew, also had reiterated the same fact in 1912. It was Montague who dispelled all the fears of the Indians by repudiating Morely's policy in clear and unambiguous terms. His declaration instilled new hope in the Indians. What was held to be an impossibility in 1909 and 1912 was found to be feasible and desirable in 1917. Hence the Moderates Welcomed it as "Magana Carta to India".

The Declaration marked the triumph of the Hindu Muslim unity. Both the major parties realized that by forging a united front they could compel the Britishers to yield and accept the legitimate demands. The declaration made the Indians feel that they would no longer be treated as strangers in their own land. Hence they were to be associated in all branches of administration including the army. It made them feel that they would no longer be treated as inferior and incompetent by the alien bureaucracy.

The Declaration added to the moral strength of the India National Congress. Their hard struggle bore some fruits. The Britishers made an important commitment. It could not easily deviate from it. The Congress could in future remind the Britishers of their commitments and ask for the implementation of the most extensive scheme of decentralization and devolution. The success of the Congress in wrestling concession from the Britishers, strengthened their rank still more. Significance of the Declaration tells also the fact that during the most critical period, it eased the political situation for the Britishers by calming down the agitation amongst the Indians. The authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms Regarded it as "the most momentous utterances ever made in India's chequered history" which marked the end of one epoch and the beginning of the new one. Pradhan deemed the declaration a revolutionary pronouncement and remarked "with the announcement of August 20, 1917, modern India has entered on a era in her history".

With all these good points to its credit and commendations showered on it, the Declaration was considered unsatisfactory both in language and substance by the Extremists. The hope of introduction of some tangible measure guaranteeing self-government however kept them closer for the time being but when the hollowness of the declaration was revealed to them they resorted to the usual agitation with more vigour. They dubbed the announcement as artifice to hoodwink the Indians. The indefiniteness of the announcement was unmasked in the next few years. Indians's progress was to be judged by the British Parliament and the Government of India alone. The Britishers alone were to be the judges of the time and measure of each advance. It was considered incompatible with the spirit of liberty. It greatly hurt the sentiments and feelings of the Indian patriots who started feeling that the promised self-government was a mirage and the declaration of 1917 was a vague, indefinite and elusive step. However, Montague came to India as the head of a mission to study the political situation personally. The report prepared by him and agreed upon by the Viceroy of India was prepared in 1918. It served as the basis of the Government of India Act 1919.

10.2 GOPALA KRISHNA GOKHALE (1866-1915)

Gopala Krishna Gokhale was one of the leading in the history of national movements in this country. He was an extraordinary personality who wielded of moderation at a time when extremism reared its head. He worked as the principle of Fergusson College for a nominal salary and his interest were directed towards moulding the character of Indian youth. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress later and his moderate methods won for him many admirers and followers. He was conscious of India's degraded conditions but did not believe that any violent means would result in the betterment of the condition. He founded a new society called Servants of India Society-to install in the minds of the people a need to dedicate themselves to the task of nation-building. He did not, however, spare the British government for following an unimaginative policy against Indian. He squarely condemned them for denying opportunity to educate people, to serve the people through government positions. Essentially a man of peace, he would direct his astonishing energy towards focusing the attention of the people for the real needs of reforms. He did not hesitate to condemn the government. Gandhiji considered Gokhale as his political "Guru". It was he who introduced Gandhi to the Indian National Congress on South Africa. Gokhale, in the words of Gandhiji moulded the latter like a solicitous mother. Gokhale's intention to spiritualize political life was taken over by Gandhiji. An ardent rationalist to the core Gokhale believed in slow evolution on the conditions in which Indian would eventually attain emancipation. He did not like the idea of revolutionary methods which inculcated in the masses a sense of indifference and contempt for legal values.

10.3 BAL GANGADHAR TILAK (1856-1920)

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a towering personality who swept everything before him in the annals of Indian policy. He was primarily and educationist and it was he who shaped the Deccan Education Society in the formative years. Tilak was a Social Reformer, Journalist, Scholar, and a Militant Nationalist. His versatility and robust conviction in the greatness of India soon manifested in different ways to combat British imperialism. He did not subscribe to the moderate views of people like Gokhale. He writings throughout Maharashtra and Kannada awakened the slumbering people who began to hope for a new India. He was for ever, stumbling in the path of the administrators with vigorous attack on its policies. Time and again he was imprisoned for seditious writing and inflammatory speeches. Undaunted by the persecution he carried aloft the banner of fearlessness. He gave to this country the slogan, "Swaraj is my birth right". he infused in Hindus a spirit of courage and ability to act together in place of submission and sullenness. He was largely responsible for reviving the cult of Sivaji and he goaded the people to take to the path of heroism. He was deeply religious and popularized the worship of Ganapathi in Maharashtra which also paved the way for people coming together. Gokhale's appeal was aimed at arousing educated section of the society. Tilak carried the message of independence to the humblest hearts. It was he who brought the masses into the focus of national movement. He was an intellectual giant who harnessed his energy towards eradicating illiteracy, apathy and inertia of the masses. He believed that revolutionary methods were not against the interests of the people in their progress towards liberation. Throughout his turbulent life he performed all the activities in a detached manner.

10.4 ANNIE BESANT (1847-1935)

Mrs. Besant was an Irish lady whose devotion to Indian nationalism reached great heights. She was attracted towards Theosophical Movement after passing through the phase of atheism. Her initial activities for over 20 years in India from 1893 were directed towards religious, social and educational spheres.

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Write a brief note on Home rule movement?

4. Critically evaluate the Lalajis contribution?

She was responsible for giving a new shape to emancipation of women ushered in a new era in Indian social life. However when she diverted her attention towards politics, she soon rose in public esteem as a friend of India and there was great appreciation for her selfless work. She started a daily in Madras-**New India,** in 1914 towards propagating Home Rule movement. The Home Rule League inaugurated by her in 1916 soon had branches throughout the country and her influence among the educated was considerable. She had a great love for Indian traditions and there was no patronizing attitude on her part towards Indians. As early in 1914 she pleaded that "India asks only that she shall be recognized as a nations, shall be given self-government and shall form an integral part of the Empire, composed of self-governing communities. She asks no more than this". Besant's activities naturally annoyed the British and for a brief period she was put in jail. She was the President of the Indian National Congress in 1917.

Mrs. Besant did not believe in the use of Swadeshi Movement as a political weapon. Mrs. Besant's glory began to eclipse by the rise of Mahatma Gandhi in whose Civil disobedience Movement she did not put any trust. Mrs. Besant believed in constitutionalism but in the overpowering support of the people to Gandhian methods soon her voice became isolated. Gandhiji had a great admiration for Mrs. Besant even from his student days and took every care in the later years to praise Mrs. Besant's contribution to the national awakening. In the closing years of her life she turned more towards Theosophical movement.

10.5 LALA LAJPAT RAI (1865-1928)

Lala Lajpat Rai, popularly known as the "Lion of the Punjab", was decidedly the greatest leader produced by the Punjab after Ranjit Singh. He was a powerful orator and an intrepid patriot of a very high order. He underwent the severest sufferings for his country's freedom. He was born on January 28, 1865, in the district of Ludhiana in Punjab. He graduated from the Government College, Lahore, Arya Samaj was quite a powerful movement in the Punjab in those days. Lalaji threw his lot into it. He rendered valuable services to D.A.V. College, Lahore, and an orphanage in Ferozepur.

Lalaji joined the Congress formally in 1888 but his career as a full-fledged politician began in 1905 when he was sent along with Gokhale to England to protest against the Partition of Bengal. He spoke to the British public and tried to persuade the British leaders to understand sympathetically the Indian sentiments but to no use. From there he made his first short trip to U.S.A. On his return to

India he told his countrymen not to bank much upon the generosity of the arrogant white rulers but to fall back upon their own strength and resources in order to reach their goal.

Lalaji also like Tilak was a leader of the Extremist school. He had not much faith in the 'go-slow' policy. By his written and spoken words he stirred the people out of their slumber. Lalaji was in a way a true socialist. He was opposed to capitalism and economic exploitation in whatever form. He was the first President of the Indian Trade Union Congress in 1920. In 1907, he along with Sardar Ajit Singh led an agitation against Coloization Bill. The agitation was so forceful that it caused alarm to the British Imperialism. The Government arrested both Lalaji and Ajit Singh. Without trial they were sentenced to transportation for six months. Sardar Ajit Singh after his release went abroad and settled down there. Lalaji was given a warm reception when he reached Lahore on November 18, 1907. At Surat session of the Congress, Tilak proposed the name of Lalaji for president ship but Gokhale in view of his radical views opposed his candidature. Lalaji quaitly withdrew his name in order to avoid a conflict between the Moderates and the Extremists.

Lalaji from the Nationalist Party's platform supported the demand for Swaraj, Swadeshi, national education and boycott of foreign goods. In 1914 he created an Education Trust and laid foundation of Radha Krishna High School, Jagraon. In 1914, he wnet to London again as a member of Congress delegation. The war that broke out in Europe prevented his return to India till 1919. From England he went to the U.S.A. He spent six months in Japan also. Wherever he went, he carried on strong propaganda for India's independence. In England he wrote his two famous books. **Young India and Englands Debt to India.** He was allowed to sail back to India in 1919. He was profoundly shocked at the cold-blooded massacre of thousands of innocent people at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar. The ghastly police atrocities filled him with rage and revolt. The Congress held a special session at Calcutta in 1920 to discuss the events of the Punjab. Lalaji occupied the chair. Although he differed with the Non-Co-operation resolution, he stood by it wholeheartedly after it was adopted by a majority vote. He was then arrested and imprisoned on December 3, 1922.

Soon after his release, he along with Motilal Nehru organized the Swaraj Party and entered the Central Legislature. He, however, resigned from the Swaraj party with whose liberal attitude towards the unreasonable demands of the

Muslims, he differed sharply. He joined hands with Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya in forming the Nationalist Party. Lalaji had much in common with Malaviyaji.

In 1921 Lalaji with the Co-operation of Sri Purushottam Das Tandon, started the 'Servants of Indian Society'. He also brought out three papers-Punjabi, Bande Matram (an Urdu Daily) and People (an English Weekly). He wrote biographies of Mazzini and Garibaldi in Urdu. Besides these, he wrote a number of other books which include the biographies of Shivaji, Sri Krishna and Swami Dayanand, 'Unhappy India', Hindu-Muslim Unity' and others. All his books had a soulstirring effect on the readers. Hindu Mahasabha honored him by inviting him to preside over its Calcutta session in 1925. On October 30, 1928, he headed a big procession against Simon Commission in Lahore. The Police Officer, Mr. Saunders rained fatal Lathi blows on him, The same afternoon, addressing a mammoth meeting in Lahore, the wounded lion of the Punjab declared that every blow showered on him would prove a nail in the coffin of the British imperialism. Lalaji succumbed to his injuries of November 17, 1928. The entire country felt bereaved on losing an ardent patriot like Lalaji. The void caused by his death in the politics of the Punjab could never be filled. He ranks with the few great martyrs who fell in the national cause. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was invited to lay the foundation of a memorial raised in the memory of this great leader in Jagraon in Ludhiana district of the Punjab on 17th November, 1959. Every year the people of the Punjab observe the Martyr's Day and recall the glorious deeds of Lalaji to inspire themselves.

10.6 V.O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI (1872-1936)

V.O. Chidambaram Pillai was the son of Ulaganathan Pillai and Paramaai. He was born on 5th September 1872 at Ottapidaram in Tirunelveli district. He first studied at the St.Xavier's School and later at the Caldwell High School, Tuticorin. After matriculation, he took to legal studies and got his B.L., degree in 1895. Consequently he set up in legal practice in Tuticorin itself. It was during this time that he came under the magnetic spell of Salem Vijayaragavachariar under whose apostolate he was converted into the extremist camp of Tilak. This identification with the ideals to Tilak brought them very close together and they remained staunch friends ever after. At the instance of Vijayaragavachariar, he presided over the Salem District Congress session.

The year 1900 set the stage for V.O.C. to delve more deeply into politics. The agitation against the partition of Bengal marked the beginning. V.O.C.

addressed a number of meetings in which he advocated Swadeshi to replace everything that was alien. He invested all his property in his nationalistic adventures which left him in his later years in straitened circumstances.

He had great faith in the future of Indian trade and believed that its encouragement could hasten the exit of the British from India, Therefore, in 1906, at the height of his popularity, he floated a Steam Navigation Company which ran a service between Tuticorin and Colombo. However, the company, owing to its poor resource was running at a loss. Nevertheless, the British were apprehensive of what V.O.C. was doing. The Sedition Law that preceded the Surat split took V.O.C. also as its victim. He was arrested, tried and sentenced for life on a charge of sedition. He was the first Indian to be sentenced for life on a charge of sedition, which was later reduced to six years by the High Court.

After his release from prison in 1912, V.O.C. resumed his legal practice. Owing to poor health he remained aloof from politics. During these years he was very much interested in the Labour movement. He was also one of the moving spirits behind the Madras Presidency Association formed by Kesava Pillai in connection with the emerging Non-Brahmin Movement.

In 1970, the control of the Congress passed from the extremists to Gandhiji and his associates. A staunch believer in the principles to Tilak, V.O.C. found himself in the opposition and expressed his lack of faith in Gandhian principles. He came out of the Congress in 1920; and though he rejoined it in 1927 and attended the Surat session, his involvement after 1920 was merely nominal. The role that he was destined to play was over by 1920.

Politics and Law were not the only fields in which V.O.C. showed interest. Another avocation in which he evinced a very keen interest was Tamil studies. Since his childhood, he had made a life-long study of the Tamil classic 'Tirukkural' and wrote a commentary of a very high order. His other publications in Tamil included an edited work on 'Tolkappiam', a treatise on Tamil grammar with the commentary of Illampooranar. All the remaining years of his life were spent in seclusion in the pursuit of Tamil studies. He died on 18th November 1936. His life had left a deep mark on the making of the South Indian character as a force in the continuing struggle for national Independence.

10.7. LET US SUM UP

This unit provides details to understand the various ideas of the important personalities. Indian nation congress had come up in response for spreading their national views among the native people. Some of the great thinkers and leaders like Tilak, VOC, Besant, Gokhale, Lal, etc. of the period also shirred the people towards the path of nationalism. All of them through their newspapers (Tilaks Kerari, Annie Besant's the Common weal, Lala's Punjabi) launched vehement attacks on the British government with coming of the leaders in the national movement, powerful mass movement were launched.

10.8 KEY WORDS

1.	**astonishing**	–	amaze
2.	**Slumbering**	–	Peaceful
3.	**turbulent**	–	given to making disturbances
4.	**bereaved**	–	desolate.

10.9 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS.

For Question No.1.	For reference section 10.1
For Question No.2.	For reference section 10.2
For Question No.3.	For reference section 10.3
For Question No.4.	For reference section 10.4

10.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1.	**L.N. Agrawal.,**	-	Indian National Movement.
2.	**S.C. Bose.,**	-	The Indian Struggle 1920-1942
3.	**N.L. Chatterjee.,**	-	India's freedom struggle 1958
4.	**Edward michell.,**	-	History of India. Last Year of British India.

10.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISE

1. Estimate the part play by B.G. Tilak in India's freedom struggle.
2. Compare Tilak and Gokhale in respect of their aims and methods and bring out the distinctive contribution to the National Movement.
3. Outline the contributions of the Home Rule movement to the freedom struggle in India.
4. Describe the circumstances which lea to the declaration of 1917 by Mr.Montague.

LESSON - 11

MAHATMA GANDHI
NON - CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT - JALLIAN WALLABAGH TRAGEDY - CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

Space for Hinds

INTRODUCTION

With the year 1920, begins a new era in the History of the Nationalist Movement in India. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress decided in 1920 to start the Non-co-operation Movement. It was truly a revolutionary step. It was for the first time that the Congress decided to follow a policy of direct action. Many factors were responsible for this change. So far Mahatma Gandhi had believed in the justice and fair play of the British Government. He had given his full co-operation to the Government during World War I in spite of opposition from men like Tilak.

However, the tragedy of the Jallian Walla Bagh, Martial Law in the Punjab and the findings of the Hunter Committee destroyed his faith in the sense of the English men. He felt that the old methods must be given up. After the withdrawal of the Moderates the Extremists were in complete control of the Congress and it was possible for the Congress to adopt a revolutionary programme. The terms of Treaty of Serves which was entered into between Turkey and the allies were very severe and were resented, by the Muslims of India. The Muslims tried to persuade, the British Government to show leniency towards Turkey but they got a flat refusal. That resulted in the resentment against the Britist Government. The Muslims started the Khilafat Movement and Mahatma Gandhi identified himself with them in that Movement. The result was that Mahatma Gandhi was sure of Muslim support if the Congress started Non-co-operation Movement.

Non Co-operation Movement under Mahatma Gandhi – Jallian Wallapagh Tragedy – Civil Disobedience Movement.

OBJECTIVE

By studying this unit, the student will be able to

- Know about the Non Co-operation movement.
- Explain the Jallian Wallabagh Tragedy.
- Analyse the Civil Disobedience movement.

UNIT STRUCTURE.

11.1 Non Co-operation Resolution.
- 11.1.1 The movement
- 11.1.2 Action by Government
- 11.1.3 Visit of Prince of wales to India.
- 11.1.4 Efforts at compromise.
- 11.1.5 Short comings of the movement.
- 11.1.6 Achievements of the movement.

11.2 The Jallian Walla Bagh Tragedy.

11.3 Civil disobedience movement
- 11.3.1 Dandi March
- 11.3.2 The government reaction.
- 11.3.3 Round Table Conferences
- 11.3.4 Lord Irwin plan

11.4 Let us sum up.

11.5 Key words

11.6 Answer for CYP Questions

11.7 Books for Further Reading.

11.8 Questions and Exercises

11.1 NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION

A special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta in September 1920 under the Presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai and Mahatma Gandhi himself moved the Non-Co-operation resolution. There was a lot of opposition particularly from C.R.Das, B.C.Pal, Annie Besant, Jinnah and M.M. Malaviya but the resolution was carried on by a majority of 855 against 873. The Programme of the Non-Co-operation. Movement was clearly stated in the Non-Co-operation resolution. It involved the surrender of the titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated posts in the local bodies. The Non-Co-operators were not to attend Government Levies, Durbars and other official and semi-official functions. They were to withdraw their children gradually from Schools and Colleges and establish National Schools and College. They were not to join the army. They were not to stand for election to the Legislatures and they were also not to vote. They were to use Swadeshi cloth. Hand spinning and hand weaving were to be encouraged. Untouchability was to be removed as there could be no Swaraj without this reform, Mahatma Gandhi promise Swaraj within one year if people adopted his programme sincerely and whole heartedly. Ahimsa or Non-violence was to be strictly observed by Non-Co-operators. They were not to give up Satya or truth under any circumstances.

The Calcutta decision was endorsed at the annual session of the Congress held in December 1920 at Nagpur. At the Nagpur session many changes were made in the constitution of the Congress. The Provincial Congress Committees were reorganized on the basis of the linguistic areas. There were 15 members of the Working Committee of the Congress including the President and Secretaries. Thus, the Congress was to function as a continuous political organization, capable of implementing its resolutions. Congress membership was thrown open to all men and women of the age of 21 or more on payment of annas 4 as annual subscription. In 1921, the age limit for membership was reduced to 18.

11.1.1 The Movement

The Non-Co-operation movement captured the imagination of the people. Both the Hindus and Muslims participated in it. There was a wholesale burning of foreign goods, Many students left their schools and Colleges and the Congress set up such national educational institutions as the Kashi Vidyapeeth, Benaras Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Bengal National University, National College of Lahore, Jamila Milia of Delhi and the national Muslim University of Aligarh. Forty lakh volunteers were enrolled by the Congress. Twenty thousand 'Charkhas' were manufactured. The people started deciding disputes by means of arbitration. Mahatma Gandhi gave up his title of Kaisari Hind and his example was followed by others.

11.1.2 Action by Government

The Government of India decided to suppress the Non-Co-operation Movement with all the force at its command. Sections 108 and 144 of Criminal procedure were promulgated at important centres of the agitation. The provision of the Seditious Meetings Act were enforced at Lahore. The Pilgrims who had gone to Gurdwara-were shot down by the police and 195 of them died. In the United Provincess thousands of volunteers, were put in jails with out trial. Hundreds of them were wounded by firings by the police. Many of them were killed. Mahatma Gandhi was so much agitated on account of the repressive policy of the Government that he asked the Congress Working Committee to authorize

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Trace the significant features of the Non Co-operation Resolution.

2. Briefly hint about the visit of prince of wales to India.

each Provincial Congress Committee to undertake on its own responsibility the Civil Disobedience campaign including the non-payment of taxes.

11.1.3 Visit of Prince of Wales to India

In November, 1921the Prince of Wales came to India to thank the people for their "magnificent contribution" to British War effort. However when he landed in Bombay, there was complete hartal. There were clashes rioting and bloodshed. Fifty three persons lost their lives and 400 were wounded as a result of firing by the police. A similar thing happened when the Prince of Wales went to Calcutta. The people of the other places visited by the Prince of Wales acted likewise. This annoyed Lord Reading, Viceroy of India. The result was that thousands of volunteers of U.P., Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab were arrested and imprisoned. The Government banned the enrolment list of volunteers. Action was also taken against the leaders and C.R. Das along with his wife and son, Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azed were arrested and imprisoned.

11.1.4 Efforts at Compromise

Pandit Madan Mohan tried to bring about a compromise between the Government and the Congress. He asked the Viceroy to release the Civil Disobedience prisoners. As the Princes of Wales wanted to celebrate Christmas in India, Lord Reading was anxious to avoid all unpleasant happening during the celebrations, No wonder, he agreed to consider the suggestions of Madar Mohan Malaviya. However, Mahatma Gandhi insisted that not only Civil Disobedience prisoners be released but also the Karachi and fatwa prisoners. The Karachi prisoners were the Ali Brothers Kichlew and various others who were convicted on November, 1921 for having participated in the All India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi in July 1921. The Fatwa Prisoners were those Ulemas who had endorsed the resolution in military service of the Khilafat Conference by a Fatwa Ulemas who had endorsed the resolution in military service of the Khilafat Conference by a Fatwa (Muslim religious sanction) Mahatma Gandhi also demanded that the right of picketing should be conceded.

These demands were rejected by the Viceroy and consequently, Calcutta observed complete hartal on Christmas day. When the Indian National Congress met at Ahmedabad in December 1921, it was resolved to create a National Volunteer Corps of young men above the age of 18.

It was also decided to organize individual civil disobedience movement and mass civil disobedience after the people were trained the methods of non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi was made the sole executive authority. He was given full powers to direct the movement. On 12 January 1922 Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated a "No-tax" campaign in Guntur.

In January 1922, leaders of the various political parties met in Bombay and discussed the ways and means to bring about a settlement between the Congress and Government. A resolution was unanimously adopted by which the Congress was requested not to launch a Civil Disobedience Programme and Government was requested to summon a Round Table Conference with the object of examining the grievance of the people. It was also requested that the prisoners should be released. So long as the Prince of Wales was in India, Lord Reading followed a cautious policy. However as soon as the prince of Wales left India, Lord Reading rejected all the demands. Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that the only way to make the government to yield was to start the Civil Disobedience Movement. He decided to start the movement in Bardoli (in Gujarat).

On 1 February 1922. Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to Lord Reading demanding the release of all prisoners, freedom of press from administrative control and guarantee that the government would refrain from interfering with the non-violent activities of the non-co-operators. He gave the government seven day's time after which the civil disobedience movement was to start. Lord Reading rejected the demands of Mahatma Gandhi. He justified the policy of the government and held the Congress responsible for all the lawlessness in the country. Mahatma Gandhi was left with no alternative but to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement. Unfortunately, at this time the tragedy of Chauri Chaura occurred which changed the course of Indian History. What actually happened was that a mob of 3,000 killed twenty five police men and one Inspector, some of whom were burnt alive in the police station. Similar tragic events had already taken place on 17 November, 1921 in Bombay and on 13 January, 1922 in Madras. This was too much for Mahatma Gandhi who stood for complete non-violence. The result was Mahatma Gandhi gave orders for the suspension of the Non-Co-operation Movement at once. The government did not reciprocate to the gesture. it feared that Mahatma Gandhi was out for a bigger trouble and consequently he was arrested on 13 March, 1922. His trial began in Ahmedabad and Mahatma Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charges leveled against him. Mahatma

Gandhi concluded by saying that non co-operation with evil as much a duty as is co-operation with good". Mahatma Gandhi was sentenced to six years imprisonment but he was released in February 1924 much before the end of his term of imprisonment on medical grounds.

11.1.5 Shortcomings of the Movement

As regards the shortcomings and achievements of the Non-Co-operation Movement, the movement apparently failed to achieve its object of securing the redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs. The Swaraj was not attained in one year as promised by Mahatma Gandhi. The sudden suspension of the movement increased Hindu Muslim tension.

11.1.6 Achievements of the Movement

According to Subash Chandra Bose, "The year 1921 undoubtedly gave the country a highly organized party organization. Before that the Congress was a constitutional party and mainly a talking body. The Mahatma not only gave it a constitution and a nation-wide basis but also converted it into a revolutionary organization. Uniform slogans were repeated every where and uniform policy and ideology gained currency from one end of India to the other. The English language lost its importance and the Congress adopted Hindi as the lingua-franca for the whole country. 'Khadi became the official uniform for all Congressmen'. The Non-Co-operation Movement added to the self reliance of the people. They were no more afraid of the strength of the British government. The prisons lost their terror and became places of pilgrimage. For the liberation of the country. Swadeshi became popular. The congress became a mass movement. The Movement served as a baptism of fire which initiated the people a new faith and new hope and inspired them with a new confidence in their power to fight for freedom. The national awakening not only penetrated to the people at large but also made the active participants in the struggle for freedom. Moreover, the Indian National Congress was, turned into genuine revolutionary organization. It was no longer a celebrative assembly but an organized fighting party pledged to revolution, It imparted necessary political training and for caste of future hard ships to the fighters for freedom.

11.2 THE JALLIAN WALLA BAGH TRAGEDY

The news of Gandhiji arrest spread with amazing rapidity all over the country. It led to disturbances at various places particularly in Ahmedabad, Viramgaum and Nadia. Such happenings took place in the Punjab districts of

Gujaranwala, Lahore and Kasoor. The Government arrested the two prominent leaders of the Punjab Satyapal and kitchlew. The citizens of Amritsar were so much provoked by the arrest of their favorite leaders that they formed a procession and marched towards the residence of the District Magistrate. The military contingent barred their way and opened fire on the mob, killing two and injuring many others. The people lifted the dead bodies on their shoulder and paraded along the main streets of Amritsar. On the way they set fire to national Bank and killed the Bank Manager. In all, five Europeans lost their lives and several buildings were burnt on that day. On 10 April, 1919, martial law was imposed in the city.

Panic prevailed among the Europeans as there were disturbances on the same day at Lahore. Gujaranwala and Kasoor attended with violence, and attack on railways and telegraphs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, who had invited Gandhi to the Punjab and were organizing Congress activities there, were arrested and deported on April 10 and Amritsar was handed over to the Military. When Brigadier General Dyer arrived from jallundar on 11 April, all public meetings were forbidden. Flogging became common for minor offences. In protest against firing by authorities, people began to assemble form mid-day 13 April 1919, in the Jallian Walla Bagh. This meeting had already been prohibited by General Dyer, but this matter had also become quite desperate. But they were all along peaceful.

This Jallian Walla Bagh is an open space surrounded on all sides by big walls and houses, and in addition to four or five small gates which normally remained locked. There was a single gate for both entrance and exit. The infuriated General Dyer posted himself with his military forces at this gate. and without giving any warning to disperse the crowd, fired sixteen hundred and fifty rounds or perhaps more which continued intermittently for about ten minutes. The wounded and the dead. who even according to the Government report were 1,137 and 379, respectively, were left to their fate. It was a gruesome massacre. Martial Law was imposed in Amritsar and adjoining cities. Death, insult, injury all were hurled on the people and Punjab was kept virtually cut off form the whole of India. However-news leaked out. Rabindrath Tagore renounced his Knighthood in protest, and Sri Shankaran Nair resigned from the Vicerory's Executive Council.

The Government very reluctantly decided to appoint the Hunter Committee in October 1919 for investigation and report on the happenings. No Indian was represented on the Committee, and the Congress set up its own

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Critically evaluate the Achievements of the Non Co-operation movement.

4. Write a Short note on the Jallian walla Bagh Tragedy?

Committee to go into the matter. "The shadow of Amritsar lengthened over the fair face of India" and the relations between the British and Indians became more embittered than over.

11.3 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India declared on 31st October 1929, after a hasty visit to England to confer with the Labour Government that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress was the attainment of the Dominion Status and that a Round Table Conference would be held in London in which His Majesty's Government would meet the representatives of British India and Indian states. Indian leaders met in New Delhi on 1 November 1929 and issued a statement under their signatures that they appreciated the sincerity of the Viceroy and the desire of the British Government to placate Indian opinion and requested that certain acts should be done and certain points cleared so as to inspire trust and confidence among the people of India.

Through the good offices of Vithalbai Pastel a meeting was arranged between Viceroy and the Indian leaders but before the meeting was held an attempt was made on the life of the viceroy and the result was that nothing came out of the meeting. In the mean time under the President ship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, it passed resolutions boycotting the Round Table Conferences declaring the object of the Indian National Congress as the attainment of Swaraj or complete independence for India and authorizing the All India Congress Committee to start a Civil Disobedience Movement. 26th January was observed as India's Independence Day and in March 1930 the Civil Disobedience Movement was started.

11.3.1 Dandi March

From 14 to 16 February 1930, the Congress Working Committee met at Sabarmathi Ashram and vested Mahatma Gandhi with full powers to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement, at a time and place of his choice. On 27 February the plan of the agitation was announced and Mahatma Gandhi declared that he would first defy the Salt Laws along with 78 chosen members of his Ashram on 2nd March 1930. Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy in which he gave his own assessment of the situation. He made it clear that if his suggestion was not accepted he would start the Civil Disobedience Movement. His threat was treated by the Government with amusement and contempt. On 12 March 1930, accompanied by 78 inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram, Mahatma Gandhi started on his march of 240 miles to the seacoast at Dandi. His march assumed the character of a Padayatra with the object of achieving Purna Swaraj for India. Gandhiji described his march as "the war against the Salt Tax". There was, at that time, great resentment in the country on the salt tax which feel too heavily upon the poor people.

Hence, Gandhiji decided to commence the agitation against the same tax. There was a great nationalist upsurge in the country during the days of Gandhiji's historic march to Dandi. He reached Dandi on 5th April 1930 and broke the Salt Law the very next day by-picking up the salt lying on the beach. He called upon the people to celebrate the week from 6 April to 13 April as the National week and defy the salt laws and picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers shops. He also appealed to the people to leave the Government schools, colleges and services. There was a favorable response from the people.

Since the publication of the Nehru Report, the Muslim League went completely out of the Congress fold, When Gandhiji started, his campaign, Jinnah declared on behalf of the League, "We refuse to join Mr. Gandhi because his movement is not a movement for complete Independence of India, but for making the 70 million Muslims of India independent on Hindu Mahasabha" Following Jinnah's stand, the bulk of the Muslims remained aloof from the movement. Never the less some nationalist Muslims under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan better known as Frontier Gandhi. Azad and a few others made common cause with congress and courted arrest and suffered at the hands of the Government.

11.3.2 The government reaction

The government followed a policy of repression to suppress the movement. Even before the movement actually started thousands of Congress workers were arrested and put in Jails. Subash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru were thrown into the prison and thousands of others followed them into the jails. Police firing, lathi charge and arrests became the order of the day. Even women were not spared. There were 29 cases of firing resulting in the killing of 103 while 420 were injured and 60,000 people were imprisoned in less than a year. On 23 April 1930, the Bengal Ordinance was promulgated and the life of

Check Your Progress Questions

5. When the Civil disobedience movement started?

freedom fighters was made very hard. The press Act of 1910 was strictly enforced and many restrictions were placed on newspapers.

Civilian property was destroyed. Innocent men and women were beaten up; prisoners were starved and suffocated. Gandhiji was arrested on 5 May 1930. Demonstrations were organized throughout India against his arrest. In Madras, police beating was indiscriminate. The boycott of British goods was the highest in Bengal, bihar and Orissa. The Movement spread quickly and engulfed the NWFP also. The Afghans and Pathans of the Northwest rose virtually in revolt against the British.Gandhiji had made the British people aware that they were cruelly subjugating India; he had given the Indians the conviction that they would be lifting their heads and straightening their spines and lift the yoke from their shoulders. The passive resistance of the Indians made the British powerless.

The British Government realized that a policy of repression would not succeed in the long run and that something must be done to win over the Congress. Lord Irwin appealed to the people of India-for co-operation. On 20th June 1930 he discussed with Motilal Nehru the terms and conditions on which the Congress leaders would be willing to take part in the Round Table Conference. With the permission of the Viceroy., Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar met Mahatma Ghandhi, Jawarlal Nehru and Sardar patel in Yervada Jail. Nothing came out of it and on 15th August 1930, the Congress leaders issued a statement that unless the British grated a national Government responsible to the people" including Defence and Finance and conceded to India the right to secede at will from the British Commonwealth, they would not be able to take part in the London talks. The negotiations failed as the Government was not willing to concede these demands.

11.3.3 Round Table Conferences

The first Round Table Conference was held in London from 12 November 1930 to 1931. Not much was done at the Conference on account of the absence of any representative of the Congress. While winding up the deliberations of the conference, Prime Minister Ramsay Mac Donald declared that "steps would be taken to enlist the co-operation of these sections of public opinion which had held aloof from the Conference". The Conference was attended by the representatives of the Princes and other parties; it also included prominent Indians like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, V.S.Srinivasa Sastri. Y.Y. Chintamani and Dr. B.R. Ambedker. The Conference had an air of unreality as it did not represent the largest and most popular political party in India and without its participation an agreed solution on the problem of constitution making was impossible. The Conference was adjourned on 19th January as the details of a scheme of federation could not be worked out on account of the extravagant safe guard demanded by the minorities.

The British politicians were anxious to secure the co-operation of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders because they realized that no scheme of constitutional reforms would succeed unless the principal political party of India assented to ti. Irwin was feeling uneasy over the "no tax" campaign that was going on strongly in Gujarat, the united Provinces and parts of Bengal. The Civil Disobedience Movement was going on almost all over the country in one form or another. The boycott of British goods was in full swing and terrorism was rampant in Bengal and N.W.F. Province. The only way to ease the situation the Viceroy thought, was to enlist support and good will of the Congress.

To save the situation, Lord Irwin took a bold step with the concurrence of Prime Minister Ramsay Mac Donald.

He negotiated with Gandhiji for two weeks and the famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed and published on 5 March 1931. By the Pact the Government agreed to free all political prisoners, except those convicted of violent crimes and withdraw its ordinance. Gandhiji on behalf of the Congress agreed to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement and attend the next session of the Round Table Conference. Peaceful picketing against forign goods was to be allowed. A special Congress session at Karachi (30 March 1931) approved the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and appointed Gandhiji to act as its representative in the next session of the Round Table Conference.

The Second Session (7 September to December 1931) was as fruitless as the first. Gandhiji did not agree to the suggestion that he should speak for the Hindus; he claimed that he represented all Indians including Muslims, the depressed classes and other minorities. The Muslims definitely opposed any self-government based on majority rule. The British Prime Minister adjouned the session declaring that unless Indians could produce an agreed scheme, his Government would impose their own scheme. The third session of the Conference was held between 17 November and 24 December 1932. This was not attended by the Congress. In 1933 the Government published a Whit Paper employing the conclusion of the conferences. A Government of India bill was drafted and passed on 2 August 1935.

11.3.4 Lord Irwin Plan

Lord Irwin (1926-1931) was succeede by Lord Wellington a man who believed that the Congress could be suppressed by coercion. He reissued all the old repressive ordinances, throw the Indian leaders behind prison bars, broke up meetings by the use of the lathi and suppressed Civil liberties. Gandhiji who returned to India on 2 January 1931 made a request for an interview with the Viceroy. The request was refused and Gandhiji was arrested on 4th January. The Congress renewed Civil Disobedience. Political meetings, picketing, boycotts and hartals were followed by lathi charges and imprisonments The Congress was declared an unlawful body and its funds were confiscated. Newspapers were suppressed and their securities seized. Civil Disobedience was withdrawn only in 1934.

11.4 LET US SUM UP

This lessons gives details about the Gandhi's entry into the national movement. Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa. He joined in the Indian national Congress and organized many movements. Rowlett act did not satisfy the Indian people. The jallian wala Bagh tragedy introduced a dramatic change in the Indian political situation, which became further surcharged with the initiation of the Non Co-operation movement.

Thus the Non Co-operation movement failed to achieve any of its declared objectives. But its ultimate gain outweighed the immediate losses. In 1930 Gandhiji decided to intensity the movement, by violating the salt laws, on the sea-coast at Dandi. When the movement was at the peak the viceroy took the initiative of releasing the congress leaders and invited Mahatma Gandhi for talks, Which led to the Gandhi - Irwin Pact and the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement.

Then the second phase of Civil disobedience movement started in 1932. After the Poona Pact, Mahatma Gandhi lost interest in the movement and got fully engrossed in the anti-untouchability movement, which led to the foundation of Haifa sevak sangh. Then Mahatma Gandhi launched the individual civil disobedience on August 1, 1933. After a brief listless progress, this movement, too, died down and by early 1934 was no longer in effect.

11.5 KEY WORDS

Swaraj - Self rule

Hartal - strike

Infuriated - enrage

Negotiations - confer with a view to finding terms of agreement.

Unlawful - in permitted.

11.6 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No1.	Refer section No.11.1
For Question No2.	Refer section No.11.1.3
For Question No3.	Refer section No.11.1.6
For Question No4.	Refer section No.11.2
For Question No5.	Refer section No.11.3

11.7. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **S. Kumar.,** - History of India.
2. **M. Hussain.,** - A History of the Freedom Movement 1707- 1914, vol-Iv.
3. **K.P. Jayaswal.,** - History of India.
4. **V.D. Mahayan.,** - Fifty years of Modern India.

11.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What were the motive behind the Non Co-operation movement.
2. Critically evaluate the Civil disobedience movement and the three Round. Table conferences

Space for Hints

SWARAJISTS – SECOND WORLD WAR AND CONGRESS – THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

C.R. Das formed the Swaraj party in 31st December 1922. He worked as president and Motilal Nehru as secretary. The activities of the swarajists infused new hope and enthusiasm in the masses. Subhas Chandra Bose was born on 23 January, 1897 at cuttack in Orissa. Subhash mobilized the youth in India under the banner of youth Congress. He has secured a place of honour in the history of India's struggle for freedom. J.P. Narains Observes, "The revolution of 1942 occupied the same place in the history of this country as the French and Russian revolution in the history of their respective countries." The amplitude of the revolution had no parallel in history. In no other revolution had such vast multitudes taken part. It was the apex of Indian struggle for freedom. The Quit India movement of 1942 is a landmark in India's struggle for freedom.

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 The British of the Swaraj Party

- 12.1.1. Formation of the Swaraj Party
- 12.1.2. Activities of the Swaraj Party
- 12.1.3. Elections
- 12.1.4. Dyarchy
- 12.1.5. Split of Swaraj Party
- 12.1.6. General Elections of 1926
- 12.1.7. Estimate

12.2 The Second world war and the Congress

- 12.2.1 Failure of the search for a common ground
- 12.2.2 Resignation of the Congress Ministries.
- 12.2.3 The Congress stands for a Constituent Assembly.
- 12.2.4 Congress offer conditional Co-operation to British
- 12.2.5 British offer of August 1940
- 12.2.6 Congress Rejects the offer.
- 12.2.7 Individual Satyagrah (October 1940).

12.3 Subhas Chandra Bose
12.4 Quit India Movement
  12.4.1. Political Situation of India after Cripps departure.
  12.4.2. Difference among Congress leaders.
  12.4.3. A.I.C.C Deliberations at Allahabad.
  12.4.4. Quit India Movement (8th August, 1942)
  12.4.5. Government arrests Congress leaders.
  12.4.6. Reactions to the movement.
12.5 Let us sum up.
12.6 Key words
12.7 Answer for CYP Questions.
12.8 Books for further Readings.
12.9 Questions and Exercises.

12.1 THE BIRTH OF THE SWARAJ PARTY

The suspension of the Non-Co-operation Movement by Mahatma Gandhi after the Chauri Chaura incident, and his decision to suspend defiance of government laws and ordinances was highly resented by a group of nationalists. S.C. Bose said that "to sound the orders of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity" Subash Chandra Bose quotes C.R. Das in "The Indian Struggle" as having said, "Mahatma opens campaign in a brilliant fashion; he works it up with skill, he moves from success to success, till he reaches the zenith of the campaign but after that, he loses his nerve and begins to falter" Similarly many leaders and volunteers in the Indian National Congress expressed resentment and dissatis-faction with Gandhiji.

The sweeping tide of resentment against Gandhiji encouraged the government to arrest him in 1922. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment. The Congress was left leaderless and its Working Committee was confronted with the question of what to do next. Gandhi had given some guidelines through the columns of Young India which proved inadequate. The AICC set up a small committee to tour round the country and report on the situation. This committee was called the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. It was found that there was a lack of faith in and enthusiasm for the constructive programmes laid down by Gandhiji. The Committee also reported that the country was not yet prepared to

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Write a short note on the swaraj Party.

2. Critically evaluate the formation of the swaraj party.

resume mass civil disobedience. It also recommended that Congressmen should contest the election on the issue of the redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrong and immediate Swaraj and should enter the legislatures in order to wreak the reform within.

C.R. Das who was undergoing one year imprisonment in the Alipur Central Jail also planned for offering non-co-operation from within the legislatures. He thought that Gandhiji's direct action had failed to produce the desired results and that other methods must be adopted to rouse public interest and restore their morale. A change in organizational tactics was considered very essential. In view of advocating council entry Das was released from prison and he began to propagate his programme more vigorously.

The report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee was discussed by the A.I.C.C. at Calcutta in November 1922. The split among the Congress leaders came out in the open. One group led by C.R. Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Moti Lal Nehru supported the idea of entering the Provincial Legislative Council and blocking the Government, while the other group led by C. Rajagopalachari, M.A. Ansari and Kasthuriranga Iyengar, opposed the programme. After five days of deliberations the controversial question of Council entry was left unresolved.

A month later the annual session of the Congress was held at Gaya and it became almost a battle ground between the advocates of entering the Council called 'pro-changers' and the opponents of Council-entry who came to be known as 'changers'. The session was a victory for the 'no-changers' and a big disappointment for the advocates of Council entry. C.R. Das who presided over the sessions resigned form the president ship of the Congress and began to concentrate on organising a separate group under the name of Swaraj Party within the congress to pursue his plan.

12.1.1 Formation of the Swaraj Party

C.R.Das formed the Swaraj Party on 1 January 1923. In the endeavour he was greatly assisted by Motilal Nehru who also resigned his post as General Secretary of the Congres. The two leaders worked hard and alter hectic tour around the country. The first Swarajists Conference was held at Allahabad in March 1923. The Constitution of the party was framed and the plan compaign was drawn. One of the important question discussed was the political goal of the party; was it to be Dominion status or Complete Independence? Since a unanimity could not be reached on this issue, it was decided as a compromise to proclaim the objective of the party as the immediate attainment of Dominion Status.

The method to be adopted was that of obstructionism to contest the elections on the issue of redressal the wrongs done by the British authorities, to oppose every measure of the government including the budget, to move in the legislatures which were necessary for the healthy growth of national life and if retuned in majority, to defeat all legislative measures by which the British proposed to consolidate their power. The Swarajists regarded the capturing of "Legislative seats necessary to check them from falling in the hands of undesirable person" who were becoming a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy. They decided to carry on non co-operation, as Pattabhi Sitaramayya has put it, "into the very aisles and channel of the bureaucratic Church". Such a Programme, the Swarajists thought, was quite in tune with the policy of non co-operation.

As P.C. Ray put it "If a successful revolution was unthinkable, a consistent life of detachment and renunciation could not get us a place in the sun, then only way in which India could be put on the road to Swaraj was by pursuing a policy by consistent and precedent obstruction of all measures initiated by the existing bureaucracy and thereby forcing the pace of the reforms. Outlining the aims of the Swaraj Party, C.R.Das said that they wanted to destroy and get rid of a system which "does the country no good and can do no good, and they wanted to build in its place a beautiful mansion". Das and his followers announced that outside-the councils they would co-operate with the constructive programme of the Congress and work under the leadership of Gandhi. They also said that in case their methods failed to deliver the goods, they would without hesitation, abide by Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement "if and when he launched".

12.1.2 Activities of the Swaraj Party

In order to win support of the masses, Das went on a tour of South India which is on of the strongholds of Gandhism. He explained to the people that the end should be kept in view and methods changed to suit the altered conditions. The feeling of disappointment and depression produced by the suspension of the non-co-operation movement should be removed. The tour was highly successful and had its impact in other parts of the country also. It also increased the strength of the Swarajists in the All India congress Committee at the expensed of "no changers" who had to give up their places. As a result of the success of Swarajists.

Party feelings between 'no changers' and 'pro-changers' ran high in some provinces particularly in Bengal.

Some of the Congress leaders desired to bring about a compromise between the two factions, and therefore arranged a special session of the Congress at Delhi in September 1923. Maulana Azad was elected President of the special session. He supported the Swarajists and said that under the prevailing circumstances it has become necessary for them to enter the Councils and occupy as many seats as possible. A compromise resolution was passed at the special session which allowed each group to follow the programme it considered best. It was agreed that those who wanted to contest the general elections which were soon to be held with a view to carrying 'on a uniform continuous and consistent opposition' against the government from within the legislatures might do so, but the Congress as an organization was to have no responsibility in the matter. This was a big success for the Swarajists who did not want anything more than the lifting of ban on council entry.

12.1.3 Elections

The elections were due in November 1923, and the Swarajists issued a manifest in October outlining the policy and programme of the party. They clearly pointed out that the new party was an integral part of the Congress and always kept in view the essential principles of non-violent and non-co-operation. On entering the Legislative Assembly the party would ask for the right of the Indian people their own constitution, and in case this was denied, it would resort to policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to making Government through the Assedmbly and Council to impossible" if it was elected with a majority. The Party also assured that its member would try to enlist the co-operation of the Nationalist members of the legislatures who might not be committed to the policy of uniform and persistent obstruction'. Motilal Nehru was elected leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Legislative Assemble, while C.R. Das was its leader in the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Swarajist fought the elections with great enthusiasm and removed the feeling of depression and inertia that had engulfed the country after the sudden suspension of the non-co-operation movement and the deimprisonment of Gandhiji. They achieved remarkable success in the elections when viewed in terms of the short time they given and the great obstacles to be overcome. They obtained and absolute majority in Central Province (C.P.) Legislative Council and constituted the single largest group in Bengal. In the Central Legislative Assembly, they won 45 out of 143 seats.

One important consequence of the Swadrajist's success at this polls deserves to be mentioned. This was the rout of the Liberal candidates. Even stalwarts like Surendranath Banerji in Bengal, C.Y. Chintamani and Hirday Nath Kunzru in the U.P. Paranjoye in Bombay and Sheshagiri in Madras were defeated in the elections. Their defeats showed that the Liberals and Moderates has lost the conbfidence of people and had no influence on the masses. In U.P. and Bengal the Swarajistsd paralysed Dyarchy. Formation of ministries in these provinces become impossible because they would neither form the ministries themselves nor allowed others to form them. In other Provinces the Swarajists did not achieve any success. But their work was memorable in the Central Assembly. Here the leader was Motilal Nehru who with the support of the Nationalist Party and some independents commanded a working majority. On 18 February 1924, the Swarajists carried by majority a resolution relating to the Act of 1919. It wanted the Governor-General-in Council to revise the Act with a view to establish "full responsible Government in India and towards that purpose to summon at an early date, representative to a Round Table Conference to recommend a constitution for India." The Government in response to the resolution of the Swarajist party appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Home Member Sir Alexander Muddiman, to make a critical review of the Mont-Ford Reforms.

12.1.4 Dyarchy

The Swarajists boycotted the Muddiman Committee but others like Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mohanmmed Ali Jinnah joined the Committee. The Committee had an official majority. Its report however could not reach unanimity. The non-official minority condemned Dyarchy as unworkable and unsatisfactory and suggested the altering of the basic priniciples of Dyarchy. The official majority on the other hand, found nothing basically wrong with Dyarchy, though suggested certain modification in implementation.

When the report was placed before the Central legislative Assembly, Motilal Nehru condemned Dyarchy as unworkable and moved a resolution which was carried against the government by a large majority. In the Central Assembly the Swarajists defeated some of the demands for grants in the 1924-25 budget and refused leave to introduce the entire Finance Bill. In February 1925, V.J. Patel introduced a Bill asking for the repeal of certain obnoxious measures like the State Prisoners Act of 1850, the Frontier Outrages Act of 1867 and the Prevention of Seditious Meeting Act of 1921. The Bill was approved of except for the omission of Frontier Outrages Act. The Swarajists demanded the release of Gandhi who fell seriously ill and the demand was fulfilled. The Government was defeated over the Swarajists resolution calling for release of certain political prisoners.

The Swarajists block also resorted to frequent to register their protest against Government's high handedness. They boycotted all receptions, parties and functions organized by the Viceroy. No doubt the Swarjists embaraseed the government and exposed it sbureaucratic tendencies. However they were not able to bring the machinery of the government to a dead and both at the Centre and in the Provinces, the Administration went on as usual. The Nationalist Party of Lajpat Rai and Pandit Malaviya began to realize that the policy of obstructionism was doing more harm than good to the people and with his relation it became lukewarm in its support the Swaraj Party. This undermined the position of Swadrajists block. Moreover many of this leaders in the Swaraj Party began to realize that the obstruction policy had failed to bear fruit and should be replaced by a policy of reconciliation and began to aspire for a share in administration.

12.1.5 Swaraj Party Split

While the above said forces were at work in India to break the Swaraj Party, development in England also brought about its early demise. In the general elections that took place in Britain in October 1924, the Labour Party was defeated, and the Conservative assumed power. Lord Birkenhead assumed office of the Secretary of State for India. He enlisted the Swaraj Party as "the most highly organized political party in India" and the work it was "even more difficult to deal with their open rebellion". The activities of the Swarjists began to convince the Conservatives that the scheme of Diarchy was defective in many ways.

They began to woo the Swaradjist leadership in the hope that some kind of settlement would be reached with Dass and Motial Nehru, if not with Gandhi and other. From the untimely death of C.R.Das in June 1925, the Swaraj party to swere from its original policy of "undiluted opposition". The first dissension came in the Central Province where S.B. Tambe, the Swarajist President of the Legislative Council, accepted Executive Councillorship His acceptance of office was approved by many prominent Swaraj Party leaders of Maharashtra. Motial Nehru who had earlier refused to serve on the Muddiman Committee, now accepted membership of the Skeen committee that was convened to report on the early Indianization of the Army. Lajpat Raj joined the Central Legislative Assembly as Swaraj stand accepted the deputy leadership of the party.

Severe dissension enveloped within the organization. Many leading Swarajists gravitated towards the policy of responsivist co-operation. In February 1926, the Responsivist Party was formed which in April merged with the "Nationalist Party" formed by Pandit Malaviya and Lajpat Rai. The object of the Party was to accelerate "the establishment of Swaraj of the Dominion type by all peaceful and legitimate means (excluding mass Civil Disobedience and non-payment of taxes) will liberty to resort inside the legislature to responsive co-operation". It was wholly Hindu party and worked in close co-operation with the Hindu Mahasabha. The Responsivists differed from Swarajists on two main points. First, they did not approve to opposition to the Government in the Legislature and favoured only discriminate opposition". Second they did not like the Promuslim attitude of the Swarjists and the Congress leaders.

Efforts were made to bring about a compromise between the leaders of the two wings of the Swaraj party. With the object in view a meeting was held at Surat in April 1926. Efforts were made to patch up the differences which continued to persist between Motilal Nehru and Lajpat Rai about to work in the Central Assembly. The result was Lajpat resigned from the Congress Party in the Central Legislature.

12.1.6 General Election of 1926 :

In November 1926 the third and final general elections were held under the Government of India Act, 1919. The Swaraj Party was able to improve its position and the members of the Nationalist Party lost heavily. However, as other parties came into field, the position of the Swaraj Party was not strong anywhere. Hence it could not pursue successfully its policy of "continuous. Constant and uniform obstruction." Motilal Nehru was left almost alone to take up the issue with them inside the Legislature. It cannot be denied that the Swarajists rendered some useful service. They emerged on the political horizon at a critical juncture when the abrupt suspension of the non co-operation movement had left behind much bitterness and frustration in every heart. The programme of the Swarajists infused new hope and enthusiasm in the masses. Through their fiery speeches they prepared the country once again for Civil disobedience and this enthusiasm was exhibited admirably when Gandhiji revived the movement a few years later. Through consistant criticism they were able to discredit the Government in the eye of the world . By making impossible for the Ministers to work, they compelled the Government to contemplate the revision of the constitution on the reports of the Muddiman Committee. They also exploded the false claim of the Government that the administration of the country was being run by elected representatives of the people. The successive defeats suffered by the Government also served as eye opener to the British Government.

12.1.7 Estimate

The work of the Swarajists within the legislatures drew the Intelligentia and all thinking people in the country closer to the Congress. No student of modern India history can under estimate the work done by Motilal Nehru and C.R.Das. Another highlight of their work was the passing or a resolution whereby they suggested holding a Round Table Conference to recommend a constitution of India based on the principle of full responsible government. It was a result of their efforts that the British Government finally agreed to end diarchy and grant full autonomy to the provinces.

Another important aspect of the swarajists activities relate to their entry into local governments. Encouraged by their victory in the council elections they turned to local bodies and contested elections with greater success. There they did much useful work because they went to build and not to destroy. By way of illustrations mention may be made of the constructive role of the Swardajists in the Calcutta Corporation, the Allahabad Municipal Board, the Ahmedabad Municipal Board and the Bompay Corporation. C.R. Das was the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation and Subhas Chandra Bose was its Chief Exective Officer. Jawahar Lal Nehru was the Chairman of the Allahabad Board and Vallabai Patel of Ahmedabad. Those corporations and municipalities served as nurseries of self government in India.

12.2 THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE CONGRESS

On 1st September 1939 Hitler invaded Poland and, on 3rd September England declared war against Germany "to make the world safe for democracy". On the same day Lord Linlithgow declared war on Germany on behalf of India without even consulting the Legislative Assembly then in session, and on 11 he told the Assembly that the introduction of the federal scheme had been suspended although the "Federal objective" remained intact. On 14th September the Congress Working Committee demanded a constituent Assembly for framing India's Constitution, and desired the Indian Princes to introduce democracy in their States. The British were, however unwilling to clearly specify their war aims in relation to India. On 17th September, the Muslim League in a resolution, citing its earlier Delhi Resoultion of 27 August 1939 devoted itself to the denounciation of the oppressions of the Muslims by the Congress Ministries, the Governor's failure in protecting the minorities particularly the Muslims and the Federal Scheme. The resolution claimed for the League the sole authority to represent the Muslims in India who it said, stood "for India's freedom but were irrevocably opposed to any 'Federal objective' which must necessarily resulting a majority community rule such of constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the people of the country which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute, national State."

12.2.1 Failure of the search for a common ground

In his anxiety to secure the co-operation of the Indian political parties the Viceroy started negotiations with them. The Congress was also keen on a political settlement and in reply to the League's charges of oppressions of the Muslims by the Congress Ministries, the Congress President Rajendra Prasad wrote to Jinnah on 5th October 1939, to have the changes in the Ministries, as investigated by the Chief Justice of the Federal Court. But Jinnah did not agree. On 10th October. The Congress again asked the British to categorically declare that India would be made free after the war and meanwhile she was to be given an immediate control over continued discussions with the leaders of the different political parties. At the end of these discussions, on 18th October, there was a wide divergence of opinion among different leaders and therefore it was not possible for the British to do anything immediately. He, however, added that Dominion Status was the goal of India and he was willing, in the meanwhile to immediately set up "consultative group" of representative Indians to be associated with him in advisory capacity.

12.2.2 Resignation of the congress ministries

A substantial section of the Congress was in favour of immediately starting a movement against government, but Gandhiji was not agreeable. It was, however, resolved by the Working Committee on 22nd October that the Congress in the provinces should resign after adopting resolution in the Provincial Legislatures denouncing the manner of the Government in trampling over Indian

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Explain – August offer 1940.
4. Give an account of subhas Chandra Bose.
5. What are political situation of India, after Cripps departure?
6. Examine the reactions to the Quit India movement.

sentiments. Congress Ministers in eight Provinces resigned and the governor concerned took over administration. Popular Ministries continued to function in the remaining provinces. The Congress attitude continued harden with Gandhiji alone holding the reign tight. M.A. Jinnah, however, decided to make a capital out of these resignation and he called upon the Muslims in India to observe 22nd December as the "Day of Deliverance" and it was observed.

In the meantime, Samuel Hoare, the Lord Privy Seal had declared in the Housed of Commons on 26th October 1939, that Dominion Status was the ultimate British objective for India which meant the application of the Statute of Westminster to India. But he added that there was no question of making any immediate political settlement in view of the anxieties of the minorities to protect their interests and the British pledge to them.

12.2.3 The Congress stands for a Constituent Assembly

On 19th November 1939 "the Congress Working Committee wished to declare again that the recognition of India's Independence and of the right of her people to frame their constitution through a Constituent Assembly, was essential in order to remover the taint of imperialism from Britain's policy and enable the Congress to consider further co-operation, The Working Committee believed too that the Constituent Assembly alone was the adequate instrument for solving the communal and other difficulties. This, however did not mean that the Working Committee would relax their efforts for arriving at a solution to Communal Problem" On 19th November 1939, Gandhiji who had till then been so very enthusiastic about the idea of Constituent assembly, very emphatically spoke for a Constituent Assembly, in an Interview with the News Chronicle. But M.A. Jinnah denounced such an idea in a hard-hitting statement on 14th December 1939.

The Congress however, stood firm in its resolve for a Constituent Assemble, and united independent India and in its December 1939 Tripura annual session. Gandhiji for his part, was always keen on finding a reasonable political settlement. And when therefore the Viceroy in a statement in Bombay in January 1940 offered India Dominion Status of the "Statute of West Minster variety." Gandhiji at one opened negotiations with Government. But as the British would not agree to committing themselves for the automatic achievement of Dominion Status, or freedom. immediately after the war, the negotiations failed. Jinnah stood even at this moment for a free united India with, the fool proof guarantees for the Muslims. In March, 1940 Jinnah stretched his two nation theory to the demand for a separate state for the Muslims and said that the Indian problem "is not of an inter communal character but manifestly of an international one and it must be treated so". The League resolved it on 23 March 1940.

12.2.4 Congress offers conditional Co-operation to British Government

The resignation of the Congress Ministries proved unfortunate in many respects. Withdrawal by the Congress led to the autocratic rule of the Governors in several provinces. It gave an opportunity to Lord Linlithgow to rely more on the support of the Muslim League and to adopt a stiff or indifferent attitude towards the Congress. Jinnah got a sort of veto on further constitutional progress and he was clever enough to make the most of the situation. The War situation in Europe was changing fast. It become grave by middle of 1940. Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France had gone down before Germany by this time. England too stood in great and immediate danger. Hitler's scope of influence was expanding day. In view of all these Gandiji revised and toned down his stand and declared that India would not seek her Independence out of Britian's ruin. He felt that a change in congress attitude was imperative. The Working Committee of the Congress met at Poona and by a resolution offered help to the British Government on two conditions-the first was that the British Government should recognize India's right to complete independence the war, and secondly that it should agree to set up a national Government composed of all parties immediately. In the meantime significant political changes took place in England. Churchil succeeded Chamberlain as Prime Minister. The conservatives who came to power in England, were not at all sympathetic to Indian wishes. But the deteriorating war situation in Europe compelled even the Conservatives to pacify Indians by conceding some of their demends. The Vicerory invited the leaders of public opinion and after consultations issued on 8th August a statement as "August a statement known as "August Offer".

12.2.5 British offer of August 1940

A month later, in early August 1940, the Governor General came out with a new offer. In the first place, it was the defintite objective of the British Government to grant Dominion Status to India. Secondly, it was that the British power in India could not be transferred to a system of Government whose authority was directly controverted by large and powerful elements in the country. Lastly, a certain number of representative Indians were to be invited to join the

Governor General's Executive Council and a War Advisory Council was to be established which would contain representatives of the Indian States of other interests in the National life of India as a whole.

12.2.6 Congress Rejects the Offer

The Congress rejected the offer on the question of the immediate setting up of a representative responsible National Government. Jinnah continued some negotiations with the Viceroy, but as the latter would not agree to allot more than two seats to the former in the Executive Council, the League also rejected the offer. The matter reached, therefore, a dead end from the Indian point of view. But the Congress was still keen on working out a solution particularly because of worsening war situation. It was felt that only Sikandar Hayat Khan agreed to work out a common approach with the Congrees. Jinnah's opposition not withstanding a solution could be found out but Sikandar Hayat Khan was not willing to go against Jinnah. After some months however he came out with certain proposals of progressive nature of settling differences between the League and the Congress. But the British were unwilling to move even an inch beyond their August 1940 Offer and therefore, no progress on this score could be made then.

12.2.7 Individual Satyagraha October, 1940

The rejection of Congress demands once again exasperated the Congress as well as Gandhiji. Congressmen likes Jawaharlal Nehru and C.Rajagopalachari, who were in favour of co-operating with the Government were greatly disappointed over the Government attitude, and the Congress Working Committee authorized Gandhiji to start Civil-Disobedience Movement. Gandhiji had however no mind to embarrass the British at that critical juncture of the war. But, most of the Congressman were for a clash with the recalcitrant British. He therefore, directed individual Satyagraha in November, 1940. Vinoba Bhave was chosen as the first person to stage this Satyagraha and then others were to follow suit. Nearly 25,000 Congress men courted arrest including almost all the front rank leaders. The movement was perfectly peaceful and it was meant merely to symbolise the country's protest to the British attitude.

The war on western front continued to run seriously against the Allies, and in November 1941, the Governor-General expanded his Executive Council by adding five Indians, and set up the War advisory Council within the terms of his August 1940 Offer. The Congress and the League participated in neither of the Councils. No department of any real importance was, however, entrusted to the councilors and all power continued to be in the hands of the British. However to placate Indian feelings in those critical days, immediately thereafter all the Satyagrahis were set at liberty. But this did not impress Gandhiji much, and he was in favour of carrying on the Sathyagraha which was not liked by some leading Congress men. The issue was therefore, left to the decision of the All India Congress Committee. On 17th December 1941, japan plunged into war against the Allies and this meant an immediate threat to India, which was being apprehended for quite a few months past. The Working Committee met under the shadow of the new dimension of the war and decided to suspend the Individual Satyagraha. Gandhiji was relieved of his leadership of the Congress at Baroili; and the Congress gave a call to its worker for keeping peace and help in maintaining public order.

12.3 SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Of all the Stalwarts of India's freedom struggle, Subhas Chandra Bose came least under the influence of Gandhiji and his teachings. Early in life he was greatly influenced by the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and later Aurobindo Until Politics and Indian freedom became an all absorbing passion with him, he was moved in his youth by an intense interest in the varieties of religious experience.

He went to Cambridge for higher education and passed the Indian Civil Service Examination in 1920. But all the time he was preparing himself for a prominent role in the struggle aginst foreign domination in India and for a life of sacrifice and dedication. His high rank in the I.C.S. examination came as surprise to him but he had already made up his mind not to accept the position in the service and become part of the bureaucracy in India. Indeference to his family's wishes he joined as a probationer and continued for seven years, but he was continuously trying to persuade his family to let him resign. The sacrifices of C.R.Das and the example of Aurobindo Ghosh, whom he expected back in politics in a few years, were prominently before him. He took the final step in April, 1926 and resigned from the service.

At the Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928, over which Pandit Moulal Nehru presided, the Independence league with S.Srinvasa Iyengar, Jawaharlal Nehru and subhas Chandra Bose as its main exponents, was a source of much concern to both Gandhiji and Pandit Motial Nehru. Following a vigorous debate on the endorsement of the Nehru Report, a vote was taken on the issue of

Dominion Status versus complete independence; the result of which seemed to be in doubt until the final stage of the counting. The opposition, led by Subhas Chandra Bose in favour of complete independence, seemed formidable, and the large number of votes cast against veterans like Gandhiji and Motilal Nehru showed the rising strength of extremist opinion. There was, infact little in common between Gandhiji and Subhas Chandra Bose beyond their whole hearted decision to the cause of India's freedom. Non-violence an article of faith with the one was only a weapon for the other to be used or discarded according to the necessities of the situation. Through the thirties until the eve of Second World War, Subhas Chandra Bose found points of contact with the left wing of the Congress. He was bitterly opposed to the 1935 British imposed Constitution and to the acceptance of office under any conditions.

The spring of 1939 saw a serious crisis in Congress ranks. subhas Chandra Bose, long a stormy petrol, a socialist, and an uncompromising nationalist had been elected as Congress President in 1938. Bose while he was president in 1939, fell under Gandhijis displeasure, resigned and established his radical Forward Block which aimed, unsuccessfully at splitting Congress. After a period of internment early in the war, Bose escaped form India in January 1941 to join the Axis Power who subsequently attempted to use him as a political weapon against the British position in India.

Subhas Chandra Bose spent some time in Germany organizing the Indian prisoners of war captured by the Germans, gained valuable experience in the process. With Japan's entry into the war and after Peari Harbour and her spectacular success in south East Asis, it was felt that he would be more useful in this region for the responsibility of building up a new form against the british. After an adventurous submarine voyage of about 30 days in October 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose established the Provincial Government of Azad Hind. The rapidity of Japan's advance through Malaya and Burma had led him to the belief that the initiatives in the war was passing into the hands of Germany and its partners and that he could with their assistance, play a valuable role in the release of India from British control.

On assuming the command of the Indian National Army which he had formed in Malaya he issued a proclamation in the course of which he observed This is for me a matter of joy and pride, because for an Indian there can be no great honour than to be the Commander of India's army of liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task have undertaken and feel weighed down with a sense of my responsibility. I pray that God may give me the necessary strength to do my duty to India under all circumstance however difficult or trying they may be I regard myself as the servant of 38 crores of my country men who profess different religious faith it is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism, perfect justice and impartiality that India's army of liberation can be built up. We must hold ourselves into an army that will have only one goal, namely the freedom of India and only one will namely to do or die in the cause of India's freedom."

A new menace against the British Empire, and India in particular materialized when Japanese armies after over running Burma blocked land communications an menaced the borders of India. The battle of Burma was one of the hardest fights of the entire war. In November 1942 Indian forces carried out their offensive against the Japanese in Burma but were repulsed with heavy losses.

At the Quebec Conference in August 1943, a new phase of the Burma Campaign was planned when Prime Minister Churchil and President Roosevelt appointed Admiral Lord Louis. Mountbatten as a supreme commander of the south-east theatre. Air power supplies, and troops were built up in India and after the repulse of a last desperate Japanese attack in the direction of Bengal and Assam, the British Fourteenth army began its victory drive in the fall of 1944. This force was made up of a million men, more then 60 percent of whom came from India. In March 1945 Mandalay, the capital, was lost by the Japanese and the Burmese campaign was practically over except for mopping up operations.

In retrospect, Burma had been reconquered by an international army in which the great preponderance of man power came from India. In a sense, this war theatre was always a side show having to give precedence to other allied requirements in Western Europe and the Pacific. Yet Burma was vitally important for it controlled in large part the fate of both China and India.

In their invasion of India the Japanese had been joined by a small force known as the Indian National Army. Its story largely concerns the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose, a left-wing leader of the National Congress. On the eve of the second world war, Bose had been arrested and imprisoned by the Indian Government but in December 1940 he had been released for reasons of health. The following june a conference was held at Bangkok, where one hundred Indian delegates gathered from japan, Manchukuo, Hongkong, Java, Malaya and Indian army which had been captured at Singapore. Relations with the Japaneses authorities, however, did not run smoothly and in july 1943 Bose arrived in Singapore as the new leader.

Training camps for an Indian National Army were immediately opened up and a Provisional Government of Free India was established. In Subhas Chandra Bose's first proclamation of the Provincial Government of Azad Hind it was declared, "It will be the task of the Provincial Government to launcy and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and their allies from the soil of India .. we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare and her exaltation among the nation of the world". The statement was issued on 21st October 1943, and two days later the Provincial Government declared war on the United States and Britain. When the Japanese attack on Imphal and Kohima was opened, the Indian National Army took part in the offensive. Following the collapse of this attack the I.N.A practically disappeared and many of its officers deserted to the British Indian Fourteenth Army in April. Bose fled from Rangoon to Singapore and in August moved to Saigon, where he took a plane for Japan. Before the air craft reached its destination, it crashed and Bose was killed.

While undoubtedly a sincere patriot, Bose must have caused men such as Nehru acute embarrassment by his pro-Axis sympathies. There were in Bose elements of instability and incipient facism which had disturbed leaders in Congress even before the outbreak of war.

12.4 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

12.4.1 Political Situation of India, after Cripps departure

Before, during and after the Cripps Mission, the Government of India was engaged in suppressing even the "normal political and public activities." Many Congressmen were still in jail, and the prison doors were being closed on many more, in early May, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai a prominent leader of U.P. was arrested under the Defence of India Act, and the President of U.P. provincial committee, Krishna Datt Paliwal and several others were detained shortly after. The indication was that the government was planning to take more stringent measures to disintegrate the Congress and prevent it from functioning freely.

Subhas Bose had been watching from Berlin the march of events in India on the military fronts. He was broad-casting fiery and inflammatory speeches to incite the Indian public against Britain and was telling them that, Britain's difficulties", were "an opportunity for them to attain their freedom". He was urging the "people to co-operate intimately with Japan in the noble task of creating a great Axis." Although Pro-Japanese sentiment was not very strong, it was increasing. The Congress Party did not like that the bitter anti-British feeling among Indian people should develop into pro-Japanese sentiments because it hated the Japanese imperialism. The public rejoicings over japan's victories caused great anxiety and apprehension to Congress leaders and they began to feel that continued inactivity and lack of direction would do much to India's struggle for freedom.

12.4.2 Difference among Congress Leaders

After the failure of Cripps Mission wide difference developed among the top leaders of the Congress party as to the future courses of action. Having become convinced that the British authorities were not prepared to concede Congress demands. Nehru felt that the minimum condition on which to negotiate with Britain should be a formal declaration by her, acknowledging the independence of India at once and asking the various parties to get together and form a Provisional Government. This government, he though, should negotiate with Britain how best it could co-operate with military how best it could co-operate with military efforts of the United Nations. On the question of resistance to the Japanese, Nehru felt that non-violent, non-co-operation on the part of the unarmed civilian population would be "the only method". His thinking was that there should be no submission to the Japanese, no obedience to their orders or no acceptance of any favours from them. "If the invading forces sought to take possession of the people's homes and fields", Nehru asserted, 'they must be resisted even unto death. He even thought of guerilla units to harass the enemy, but felt that would not be possible, as it required training arms and the full co-operation of the regular army. Congress President felt that negotiations should be resumed with Britain and full co-operation to the United Nation be extended if Britain made "absolute promise" of Independence "after the war" and if the American President guaranteed the fulfillment of that promise.

Gandhi was developing wholly new ideas on the question of conflict with Great Britain 1940, he was opposed any programme of Satyagraha, as that was likely to jeopardize and allied war efforts, and was with great efforts by Azad and others persuaded to agree to "individual Satyagraha". In the summer of 1942, he became an advocate of mass action to drive the British out of the Indian Soil. The danger of Japanese attack of India by sea and advance towards Calcutta via Burma was increasing. During May and June, the Congress leaders were devising plans of resistance to the Japanese. Mahatma began to feel that the British in India would have the same fate they had in Singapore, Malaya and Burma, surrender without much resistance. He felt, after the failure of Cripps Mission, that the withdrawal of the British from India would "remove the bait" and the Japanese, might not attack India.

Rajaji was disturbed by the panic which prevailed among the people and authorities of Madras in the summer of 1942 On 6th April, Kakinada and Vizagapatinam were bombed by the Japanese and several towns and villages along the eastern coast were evacuated by the people at the instance of the authorities. The Japanese ships were cruising in the Bay of Bengal and the invasion of India was widely feared. In view of all this, he began to lose confidence in the efficacy of non violence and felt the League's demand for Pakistan must be complied with in order to establish unity and a solid front against the British.

12.4.3. Deliberations at Allahabad

The danger that the country would become a battle ground for the British and Japanese forces was increasing in order discuss the situation and devise a clear cut policy for the future the AICC and CWC met at Allahabad towards the end of April. Rajaji moved at the AICC, a resolution that the League's demand for Pakistan must be concede and a joint Congress-League front be presented to the British authorities. But only a few within the ranks of the Congress party could perceive the wisdom of the proposal, and the resolution was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Mahatma Gandhi suggested the policy of non violent, non-co-operation against the Japanese if the latter invaded India and the British. He held the view that a free India should co-operate with the Allied power in the common war against Fascism and Militarism, because his belief was that Germany and japan would if successful in the war turn out to be greater enemies of freedom and democracy than the Allied powers were. Moderation, however, prevailed among for the AICC member and there was no direct confrontation between the followers of Mahatma and the supporters of Nehru. A compromise resolution was introduced and adopted.

12.4.4 Quit India Movement of 8th August, 1942

Sir Stafford Cripps left India in the grip of unprecedented excitement. The Congress could no longer postpones the adoption of a policy of effective opposition to the British Government which refused to conciliate the Indian people even at a critical hour when the Japanese were knocking at the gates of India. Soon after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps the "Quit India" idea occurred to Gandhi, who at once made it the battle cry of Nationalist India.

A few weeks after the AICC Session at Allahabad, were a period of subdued tension within the ranks of the Congress party. Rajaji having last his resolution there, was planning to campaign in favour of conceding the League's demand. Several times he met jinnah to obtain a measure of unity between the Congress and the League, in the face of external danger But his efforts bore no fruit. On 22 June Jinnah declared that the League's Pakistan demand was "immurable". He rather, administered to Britain his often repeated warning that if she surrendered to Congress, in anymatter detrimental to Muslim interests, serious consequences would follow. Japan was knocking at the gates of Assam and the danger to India's security was increasing. Bose way, day in and out, inciting the people to welcome the Japanese as "deliverers" and "helpers". His broadcasts from Berlin were gaining popularity and out of intense ill will against Britain, Pro-Japanese sentiment was increasing. He began to feel unhappy over the modification of his draft resolution at Allahahand, and thought that the British must be asked to quit India. Quite a few of Gandhiji's followers, like Patel, Kripalani and Rajendra Prasad endorsed his view.

Congress President Azad and Nehur, on the other hand did not see quite eye with Gandhi. Azad felt that in critical stage of the war, the British "would not tolerate any mass movement" and would put all Congress leaders in jail. He asserted that in such an event, the people would be left leaderless would resort to violent activities against the British and might not be able to offer effective resistance to the Japanese. He could not "for a movement see how the non violent movement of Gandhiji's conception could be launched or maintained in war conditions".

Nehru felt that the Congress cannot and should not stand by and allow the country's affairs to be mismanaged by a foreign power. He favoured the Mahatma's view that the British should be called upon to leave India, but he insisted that India should proclaim its willingness to fight the Axis Power "If given an opportunity to do so honourably and effectively." In late june 1942, the Viceroy added more Indians to his Exective Council, but without parting with any substancial powers. This once more clearly demonstrated that the British were unwilling to part with real powers. The Congress Working Committee met a Wardhan in July 1942. It adopted a resolution demanding immediate withdrawal of the British from India in the interest of all.

On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government representative of all important sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme by which a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constituent for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme by which a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constituent for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression.

The Working Committee resolution further added that in case the British failed to comply a struggle for securing their compliance will be launched under the leadership of Gandiji. This resolution was to be ratified by the All India Congress Committee scheduled to meet in Bombay in August 1942. The Government of India was panic-stricken, and it took a decision on 15 july that in case the Bombay Congress Meeting ratified this resolution, all the Congress leaders would be put behind the bars.

President Roosevelt again made a move at this moment and wrote to Gandhiji on 1st August, to reconsider the issue and Nehru told the Manchester Guardian on the eve of the Bombay All India Congress Committee Meeting on 8 August, that it would be "a dishonest betrayal of the Allied cause if free India were to think of a separate peace with the Axis Powers". Gandhiji, Nehru and Azad took a slightly mild stand on the matter during the Bombay All India Congress Committee meeting on August 8, which approved and endorsed the july 14, 1942 resolution of the congress Working Committee and said that "the immediate ending of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for "the immediate ending of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and said of India and for the success of the United Nations. India, the classic land of modern imperialism has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India, will Britain and the United Nations be judged and the people of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet the peril".

"On the declaration of India's independence, Provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an all of the United Nations .... The Provisional Government can only be formed by the Co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the Country ... Its primary function must be to defend India and resist aggression, with all the armed as non-violent forces at its command ... The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Congress view, should be a federal one, with largest measure of autonomy for the federating units and with residuary powers vesting in the units."

The freedom of India must be the symbol and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries are under Japanese control must not subsequently be placed under the rule of any colonial power. The Committee resolved to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it had gathered during the last twenty two years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji.

Mahatma Gandhi delivered his "Do or Die" address but there had already been a scaling down in this resolution. The Congress now did not insist on forming Provisional Government after British withdrawal, but merely after "the declaration of India's independence." Besides, on the whole, all were willing to find a peaceful honorable solution and Gandhiji even proposed to seek an interview with the viceroy.

12.4.5. Government arrests Congress Leaders

The A.I.C.C. decided that on the following morning (9th August) Nehru would explain to the United States Government and the people, through the radio, the scope and contents of the "Quit India" resolution. But Churchill and Linlithgow had already finalized their plans to arrest the Congress leaders and crush their movement. In the early hours of 9the August the police swooped in and confronted Gandhi, Nehru, Azad, Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Kripalani, Asaf Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and a host of others with warrants of arrest. These men had on alternative but to step in the police cars waiting outside their gate and to welcome the hospitality of the Government behind the prison bars. About 148 Congress leaders were arrested, and their internment was followed by the imprisonment of the rank and file all over the country.

The step of the British rulers worked as a spark, and the "Quit India" movement began and was not launched. The bureaucracy did not even allow the Congress leadership an opportunity of explaning to the countrymen what it actually wanted them to do some kind of non co-operation of protest hartals or cessation of work in the country or general strike or some other form of nation's protest, In the absence of leaders and without a proper lead as to the actual line of action; the people spontaneously did what they thought would paralyse the administration and bring an end of foreign rule. There were raids and burnt, railway carriages, were attacked and were disturbances allover the country. The people in Bombay, UP and Bihar took the lead in the movement Communications were disrupted, electric and telephone wires were cut, police stations put on fire and even military vehicles were destroyed. The students and teachers abstained from schools and colleges and many universities were closed. They played an important role all over India. Workers in the factories refused to attend to duties. There were mob violence lawlessness riots and disorder in certain places. In a word the country reacted sharply and violently to the government act in arresting the leaders.

12.4.6. Reactions to the Movement

The development in India in the wake of the Quit India resolution evoked disapproval in certain quarters, denunciation in others and strong action from the authorities, T.B. Sapru, the Liberal leader, called the Wardha Resolution Ii – considered "and for the settlement of our internal dispute". Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes described Gandhi's mass Civil Disobedience plan as "irresponsible and insane", and even suggested that it was better to wait for the termination of the war for settling the dispute with Britain. Later on, he even equated Gandhi and Jinnah and started that both should quit politics. Jinnah appealed to all Muslims to keep aloof from the disturbances warned Congressmen not to pocket, harass or interfere with Muslims. The Muslim League, all through the movement, maintained an attitude of "benevolent neutrality" towards the Government. Savarkar, the spokesman of the Hindu Mahasaba, also appealed to

Hindus on the very day Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested not to lend any support "to the Congress Move". He was a votary of Hindu Communalism-and there appeared to him nothing in the Congress move to advance his cause. The Sikhs, traditionally loyal to the British remained aloof from the movement, and on certain occasions even decried it.

The British Labour Party leader Clement Attlee, the deputy Prime Minister, approved the arrest of Congress leaders, and his party and Trade Union Congress issued on 12 August a statement making" an earnest appeal to the Indian People" that the Congress movement would seriously endanger "not merely Indian freedom but the freedom of the whole world", and that the victory of the United Nations was "as much of concern to India as to Britain in Dominions, Russia, America and other United Nations

In the United States while a few distinguished authors like Pearl Buck and Lin Yu Tang, and public men like Wandell Wikie and the more important news papers like. The New York Herald. Tribune, Washington Star, Washington Time, Herald Christian, Science Moniter held the Congress Party responsible for the ugly situation in India and denounced the violent activities" and "lawlessness" in strong terms. Only Chiang Kai Shek sent "Voluminous" in protests to Roosevelt over the arrest of Congress leaders, but the American President hesitated to do anything except to forward them to Churchill.

The Government of India pressed into service its entire machinery to suppress the movement. The AICC and PCCs (Provisional Congress Committees were declared unlawful organizations, and the Provincial Governments were given discretionary powers in the matter of proscribing local Congress Organisations. By the end of the year (1942), the police and the army resorted to firing 538 times and as a result 40 persons were killed and 1630 were injured. About 26,000 persons were convicted and 18,000 were detained. Thousands of people lost their lives and homes as result of military action at several places.

At five places the mobs were even machine gunned from the air Sir. C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer member of the Viceroys Executive Council in charge of information and Broadcasting, was so much pained by the atrocities of the Government that he resigned from his post. But the viceroy chose his successor shortly after, and the repression continued until all the viceroy chose his successor shortly after. The movement apparently came to an end, and the bureaucracy rejoiced over its achievement.

12.5 LET US SUM UP

This unit provides detailed information about congress activities. In spite of its failure the non Co-operation movement, had great significance in Indian history. Though the movement failed to achieve swaraj it generated a feeling of freedom among the masses and inspired them to meet the forces of repression unleashed by the government. The failure of the non Co-operation scheme left behind a bitter taste in every mouth C.R. Das was a man of vision, and he was of the opinion that India was to win her freedom through negotiations and by gradual process. The top leadership of the swarajists regarded Hindu-Muslim unity and political education of the masses as sinequa non for the attainment of swaraj. It was due to their efforts that the British government finally agreed to end diarchy and grant full autonomy to the provinces.

Subhas was a political disciple of C.R. Das who had a big hand in bringing him on the stage of Indian politics. He raised the slogan of complete independent but his extremist views did not find favour with Gandhiji. Later on he resigned from the congress and organized separate political party under the name of forward block. He started Indian Nation Army. The slogan of the INA were "Jai Hind" and "Delhi Chalo". The most famous was subas declaration that Tum Mojhe Known Do main tamale Ajadi Durnga (You give me blood, will give you freedom). However his rise was meteoric. Subhas was truly the greatest hero of India's struggle for freedom. ON April 19, 1942 Gandhiji suggested the immediate with drawl of the British from India. He wrote a series of articles in the Harifar elaborating his ideas which was soon to take shape as the historic "Quit India" movement. The mantra is "Do or Die" we shall either free India order in that attempt.

12.6 KEY WORDS

1. **Dissension**	-	Non-agreement
2. **Bureaucratic**	-	government by bureacix.
3. **Proscribing**	-	Publish the name of as out lawed.
4. **Controverter**	-	dispute the truth of

12.7 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS.

For Question No 1	Refer section No.12.1
For Question No 2	Refer section No.12.1.1
For Question No 3	Refer section No.12.2.5
For Question No 4	Refer section No.12.3
For Question No 5	Refer section No.12.4.1.
For Question No 6	Refer section No.12.4.6

12.8 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **L.N. Agrawal.,** - Indian National Movement.
2. **A.C. Bose.,** - Indian Revolutionaries abroad.
3. **Kuleswara Rao.,** - Freedom Struggle in India
4. **G. Venkatesan.,** - Freedom Struggle in India.

12.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why was swaraj party formed? What were its aims and objects?
2. Discuss the effects of the Second world war on India's struggle for freedom.
3. What were the political situation during the Quit India Movement of 1942?
4. What were effects of Quit India Movement.
5. Explain Subas Chandra Bose.

LESSON – 13

PARTITION AND INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

MOTILAL NEHRU, GANDHI, NEHRU, JINNAH, RAJAJI

INTRODUCTION

The price, India had to pay for Independence turned out to be the vivisection of the country which was not contemplated at all in the thirties. There has been a widespread notion that the Britishers deliberately sought to perpetuate the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims by permanently working for the creation of a Muslim State.

There is also a belief that had the Congress played a firmer part, things would have been different. These cannot, be dismissed as idle discussions on a settled issue. However, when one considers the efforts by the Britishers and the actions of many leaders, it would seem that in the prevailing mood the emergence of an undivided independent India was an impossibility and protracted negotiations would not have achieved any further purpose, probably there would have been greater bloodshed and uncertainties.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will be able to

- know the events leading to partition of India.
- understand about the conciliation by which Indian independence was obtained.
- Recognize the viceroy's plans
- Estimate the services of some important personalities.

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Lord Kavell and Earl Mountbatten.
13.2 Mountbatten Assumes Power.
13.3 Internal situation
13.4 Punjab, Bengal, North-west Frontier.
13.5 Mountbatten Plan, June 3, 1947.
13.6 Broad Features.

13.7 Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948)
13.8 Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1877-1948)
13.9 C. Rajagopala Chari (1879-1972)
13.10 Let us sum up.
13.11 Key words.
13.12 Answer for CYP Questions.
13.13 Books for Further Reading.
13.14 Questions and Exercises.

13.1. LORD WAVELL AND EARL MOUNTBATTEN

The attitude towards independence held by Lord Wavell and Earl Mountbatten differed widely. Wavell's role in trying, to preserve as much as possible the unity of Indian sub-continent has not been widely appreciated. His failure to resolve the persisting differences of opinion between the Indian National Congress and Muslim League does not detract the efforts made by him. Mountbatten was armed with greater powers to negotiate and settle the issue than Wavell. While Wavell shrank from the awful task of carrying to the logical conclusion of the irreconcilable position of the Hindus and the Muslims. Mountbatten had decided upon the course of action without much fanfare. Wavell was worried about the innumerable administrative problems that would crop up with the division of the country but Mountbatten had decided to tackle the problem on its merits. wavell did not like the idea of placating the feelings of the Congress but Mounbatten saw to it that the decisions to establish separate nations eventually came from the concerned parties themselves. All the efforts of Wavell towards amicable settlement were of no avail when Mountbatten in less than six months would transfer power to Indians and bequeatly partition as the parting gift.

13.2 MOUNTBATTEN ASSUMES POWER

The British Government wanted to remove the stalemate which became apparent towards the closing months of Lord Wavell's viceroyalty. The British Government announced the viceroyalty of Mountbatten and also pronounced its intentions towards granting self-rule to India; a definite date was set before which the transfer of power would become effective. "His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not latter than June 1948.

If it should appear that such a constitution (as proposed by the Cabinet Mission) will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned. His majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over; on the due date. Whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial-Government or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and best interest of the Indian People."

These expressions, no doubt changed the political competition in India There was no reason to doubt the intentions of the Britishers towards granting, independence and the announcement of even a deadline sobered up political activities. A great realization now came over that the need for the hour was responsible political behaviour, In the Congress circles it was thought that some form of concessions to the Muslims must be given and initially nobody seemed to realize that division would have to follow. The declaration contained a reservation to the effect that the British Government would decide upon the transfer of power "as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people". This gave the Muslim League an assurance that not withstanding the bogey of unity shouted in chorus by the Congress, if it played its game shrewdly. Pakistan could be achieved. Jinnah was bent upon setting his dream of Pakistan fulfilled. The Viceroy was not unaware of the difficulties he had to face "I am under no illusion about the difficulty of my task. I shall need the greatest goodwill of the greatest possible number and I am asking India today for that goodwill". Thus declared Lord Mountbatten on 24th March 1947.

After assuming the reign of power, Mountbatten went through the process of consulting all the important national leaders about the state of country. He wanted to ascertain the personal views of the leaders regarding various alternatives and was convinced that the task before him did not suggest any easy solution. There was decidedly a new change in the attitude of Congress leaders. Gandhiji reiterated that rather than partition he would be very happy even if the Muslim League was entrusted with the full responsibility of taking over the administration. But practical considerations would not approve of such course of action even of Jinnah were willing to head the government and the Congress co-operated with him. The idea of partition had gone deep into the minds of the leaders and no dramatic boost to unity of nation by compromise could really achieve any purpose. Nehru was as passionate as ever for the unified India though he had to concede that the will of the people had to be taken to in consideration in determining their future and as a logical consequence some sort of recognition had to be given to the Muslim's aspirations, without sacrificing the unity. It was Patel who came with the realistic contention that nothing could possibly reverse the course of events and while efforts continue to maintain unity need not be abandoned, practical solution pointed out the need for granting Pakistan but with divisions in Punjab and Bengal. It was, however, very clear for the Viceroy that the Cabinet Mission scheme had become a thing of the past and there were little hopes of retaining the unity of the country.

13.3. INTERNAL SITUATION

The internal situation was not favourable for calm stock taking either. Communal disturbances had been recurring constantly and the Viceroy suggested that it would be a good gesture if leading personalities were to issue a joint declaration denouncing violence. On 15th of April 1947 the statement signed by Gandhiji and Jinnah was announced. "We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greater misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims. We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid, both in speech and writing, and incitement to such acts".

13.4. PUNJAB, BENGAL, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

There were great disturbances in Punjab, Bengal and North West frontier provinces. These states were faced with the problem of accommodating diverse religious view points which did not come out openly so far. It was thought that the future of he people in these areas should be considerably affected by the mode of decisions taken to ensure the transfer of power. While Jinnah wanted undivided Punjab and Bengal, time and again it was pointed out to him by the Viceroy himself, that the arguments used by him for separation from Hindustan could be used for giving protection to minorities in these two places. Jinnah's complaint that such division would make the creation of not an economically sound Pakistan but only a truncated Pakistan did not soften the sentiments of the

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Explain Lord Wavell Plan?

2. Discuss about the internal politics in the Punjab, Bengal and North west frontier?

Viceroy. He stressed that the Britishers were interested in protecting the minorities interests and that there was not question of granting full rights over minorities to the governments that may be formed in these provinces.

The internal politics in those vulnerable spots omitted ominous portents. The disabilities of either coalition ministers or even a single party ministry with a large number of people following diverse religious philosophies threatened the fabric of civil life frequently. Unlike disturbances of Noakhali or in parts in Bihar where lawless elements took advantage of the situation to the indulge in arson and looting and mass-murdering, the situation in the Punjab reflected the fear of different section of the population with the result that civil government could not function effectively.

The upshot was that the national leaders and the viceroy took note of the gravity of minority problem in proper perspective. In North West where a Congress Government that had been set up faced, stiff resistance from Muslim League any attempt on the part of the Central Government to restore order would be interpreted as a challenge to the Muslim prestige. As far as Bengal was concerned none seriously desired a partition and even Jinnah once exclaimed that without Calcutta there was no substance in Bengal. Spontaneous clashes motivated by insecure conditions broke out periodically which only emphasize the need for implementation of some firm decision in order that this state of affairs did not engulf the whole nation.

13.5. THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN, JUNE 3, 1947

In the light of impending break down of the administrative machinery and ever recurring communal riots, the Viceroy decided upon a speedy course of action to relieve the country from uncertainties and tension. Three factors were in the minds of the Viceroy before and final plan was put into shape. Firstly the necessity if he provinces to determine their future had to be respected and in case of trouble spots like Bengal and Punjab and possibly Assam too the process of ascertaining the wishes of the people must be gone through to determine the future political competition.

Secondly, there was imperative need to preserve some central authority to protect the over all defence of the country even if separation were effected immediately. Thirdly, a certain period of time should be allowed to lapse before the constitutions of different units come into force and the effective transfer of power to them by the British.

13.6 BROAD FEATURES

As a result of intense political discussions, the Viceroy announced the broad features of the plan, which would however, be modified after further confirmation form the leaders. The Viceroy in the first instance made it clear that any division of the country was to be decided only by the Indians and that the British would not enforce their views in this matter. The provinces which were functioning under the 1935 Act and have sent representatives to the Constituent Assembly would have to confirm their willingness to such representation, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Province, Bihar, Orissa, and Assam would fall under this category. The Viceroy proposed that in the case of Bengal and the Punjab" representatives of the Muslim majority districts and those of the other districts sitting separately, would be asked to determine their own future". Sylhet district in Assam which had a majority of Muslim population would have the option to join such wing of the Bengal which would for separation. Regarding the North-West frontier fresh elections would ensue to ascertain the people's wishes. The Muslim states and the districts separding from Hindu states would be at liberty to decide upon their membership in the Constituent Assembly.

Jawaharlal Nehru was shocked by this plan. When in Simla the Viceroy had invited him and confidentially desired to ascertain his views before finalizing. The result was astonishing from the view point of Lord Mountbatten. Nehru thought that the scheme was nothing but at move towards 'balkanisation' of India and struck at the roots of unity. Nehru was concerned that the process of vivisection should have been so openly advocated. This put a different completion to the draft of the plan. Lord Mountbatten had taken along with him the able civil servant V.P. Menon who enjoyed the confidence of the top Congress leaders like Patel, Menon was destined to play a grand role in the process of transfer of power and subsequently during the moment-our integration of princely states with India. He had probably anticipated some such contingency and decided to change the complexion of the plan rather than the substance of it. He hit upon the idea to resolve deadlock in an ingenious manner. V.P. Menon suggested that there was no need for ratification by the provinces for continuing in the Constituent Assembly. He further made it clear that the question of Provinces choosing to became independent would also be dropped. To obviate the fear about Balkanisation, Menon stressed that power would be transferred to the two states on 'dominion' basis and there was no need to feel that British were interested in perpetuating innumerable sovereign states within the Indian Union. These ideas were incorporated and to the relief of the Viceroy, Jawaharlal withdrew his objections. Mounbatten proceeded to London to get the final approval of the British Cabinet for the scheme.

There were efforts in the meanwhile to set aside the features of the deal both by the League leaders and the Congress leaders who renounced each other of bad faith Jinnah clamoured for Pakistan of felt six provinces and the Congress demanded that a the League had not accepted the Cabinet plan it should not be continuing in the government and also demanded immediate declaration of the present government as one invested with dominion status.

There regular exercises in mutual action passed when Mounbatten returned on 30th May from London. The proposals, newly formulated were given to the leaders on 2nd June for endorsement after the announcement that the Cabinet Mission proposals were rejected. The leaders were required to their confirmation. On June 3rd, the Prime Minister in England announced the proposals of Mountbatten Deal on the floor of the Commons.

The Board effects of the Deal would be that while eight provinces were already functioning through representatives in the Constituent Assembly (Madras, Bombay United Provinces, Central Province, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, North West Frontier Province) as the Muslim League had not been taking part in the proceedings, the British would devise a method for ascertaining the wishes of the Indian people. The Government did not leave out any possibility for a United India.

In the case of Bengal and Punjab, where there was a considerable population not following Islam, Provision would be made for determining the future separately for a the Muslim majority areas and Non-Muslim majority areas. These separate entities would have the opinion to determine whether they were for partition or for working under the existing Constituent Assembly. In the case of the North West Frontier Province referendum would determine the future set up. As regards British Baluchistan, the Viceroy would devise suitable means to ascertain the wishes of the people. A referendum would be held in the Muslim majority district of Sylhet to determine whether it would join the Muslim area of the partitioned Bengal in the case the latter event took place. A boundary Commission would be set up to democrate the actual boundaries. After the stress on speed to effect these changes, the government declared:

"Accordingly, as the most expeditions and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire (for an early transfer) His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer for power this year on a Dominion status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement…."

On the same day, the Viceroy broadcast to the country explaining the features of the plan and calling for spirited goodwill of the people to affect the same. His speech was followed by broadcasts by Jinnah, Nehru and Baldev Singh accepting the proposal. In course of time the scheme was accepted both by the League and the Congress. There were some leaders in Congress who did not accept the implication of partition. However, the force of events had reduced them into a minority. Even Mahatma Gandhiji who was against partition got reconciled to the situation. Mountbatten impressed upon him the unfortunate necessity of resorting to this method as other wise there would be greater bloodshed and violence.

13.7 MAHATMA GANDHI (1869-1948)

Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, combined in himself the highest ideals expounded in the lore of Vedic and Upanishad doctrines and was acclaimed as a saint among the politicians. He perfected the doctrines of Truth and Non-Violence and by systematic application sought to conquer the enemy through love rather than hatred. In it his respect his ethical teachings have wider significance than political applications of them. For him the life was a constant experiment with truth and his passion for equality and justice outweighed the narrow domains of even nationalism and independence. a firm believer in God, he always sought the help of Higher Power in the direction of events and though many differed with him for this mixing of religion with politics, none questioned his sincerity. His apprenticeship in politics was completed with fight against the South African government over the inhuman treatment accorded by the latter towards the Negroes and Indian.

By revolutionizing the politics with the concept of combating violence through love and self suffering and firmly believing that evil cannot be retaliated or conquered with brutal strength alone, he attracted the imagination of the people in India when stalwarts of the old time were disappearing from the scene. He assumed the unquestionable leadership of the freedom struggle from 1920

Check Your Progress Questions

3. What are the special features of the Mountbatten Plan?

4. Write a short note on Gandhi and Jinnah?

onwards and this phase in India's struggle for independence has been rightly called the Gandhian Era.

Gandhiji's versatile mind not only busied itself with politics and religion but dealt with social reforms, personal health and hygienic, economic life of the people and above all moral values which are necessary to restore dignity to the individuals. It is a tribute to his convictions that he did not preach anything which he did not practice himself. It is this practical synthesis of the ideal and the pragmatism that endeared him to the masses that saw in the embodiment of perfection and personification of high ideals. His concern with the miserable economic plight of the masses was not superficial sympathy and by discarding garments of western form and by encouraging the home spun cloth he pointed out way to practical elevation of economic conditions. The Charka for the spinning wheel was the road to economic uplift and he saw in it an instrument towards self sufficiency. Devoid of personal ambitions, benefit of vanity, undeterred by opposition from the same quarters for which he was pivoting all energies, Gandhiji was singularly free from fear and malice. It is in this respect that he has often been compared with the greatest religious teachers and social servants. His concern for even freedom was secondary to the concern for the cause of Harijan uplift and Hindu-Muslim unity. A firm disciplinarian and untiring worker he also demanded the same complete dedication from his followers towards any task that they undertook. Not for him any half-hearted attempt to salvage the situation on pondering to the feelings of the masses. Many have expressed that his teaching of civil disobedience and boycott of established institutions of the government would lead to dangerous results in future but he saw in those movements the only method for an unarmed people towards victory. IN a war, his mission was a failure in the Hindu-Muslim unity and united India could not be realized in the closing years of his life. But in the larger perspective of communal harmony and emancipation of the down trodden his work provided a framework which should provide guidelines for the present to emulate and succeed.

13.8 MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH (1877-1948)

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the architect of Pakistan has eluded a precise judgment by contemporaries and largely by the posterity even now. It was he who earned the unreserved praise from many foremost leaders during the struggle, for his advocacy of Hindu-Muslim unit. Sarojini Naidu saw in him "eager humanity, an institution quick and tender as a women's, a humor gay and winning as a child's pre-eminently rational and practical, discreet and practical dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life the obvious sanity and serenity of his worldly wisdom effectively disguised a shy and splendid idealism which is the very essence of the man". People like Sarojini Naidu do not throw away sentiments of works like this on impulse or without justification. Jinnah had his political training and discipline under Dadabbai Naoroji, that grand old man of India, and was his secretary for 14 years.

He played active part in Congress from 1906 to 1920. He was against separate communal representation embodied in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. It would surprise many now that Jinnah's decision to join Muslim League was not considered as antithetical to Congress interests and many top leaders thought that it would only enhance the League's prestige.

It was he who was sent to England to plead against many administrative measures shaping Indian vitality when the Council of India Bill was to be taken up for discussions in the House of Lords in 1914 Jinnah did not mind the words against treatment of Indians in South Africa and observed in council. "If I may say at the outset, it is most painful a question which had roused the feelings of all classes in this country to highest pitch of imagination and horror at the harsh and cruel treatment that is meted out to Indians in South Africa.

"Jinnah early in the second half of this century wanted the League to have close links with the Congress in order that path may work for Welfare of nation". Until 1921 he was associated with a number of important activities sponsored by the Congress and prided in being a nationalist. He lost faith in Congress and the way in which Mahatma Gandhi conducted the nationalist movement from 1921 onwards. How did this change occur? It is said that due recognition was not given to his services by the Congress and that he began to suspect a growing Hindu from active politics but also dissociated himself from Congress which he left on September 30, 1921.

His convictions of Hindu Muslim unity underwent a profound change and when he came to active politics before the Second World War appealed to observe as "Deliverance Day" when the Congress ministries resigned. His new mantle suited him and his Two-Nation theory and irreconcilable stand paved the way for Pakistan. He had held that the congress had caused havoc to Muslim cause and religious sentiments. The truth was that he was able to convince a large number of Muslims that the League alone could champion their causes. His Charge against Congress seemed to have been upheld.

13.9 C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (1879-1972)

Of the leaders of modern India in the post 1914 era who sacrificed their personal careers and got involved in the freedom struggle, C. Rajagopalachari was the foremost. Convinced by the lead given by Gandhiji and determined to strengthen the base for Indian National Congress, a host of intellectuals gathered around Gandhiji to translate his wishes into reality. But many did not become completely identified with Gandhian precepts in their entirety. Rajaji was one such personality who had the courage of his conviction to disagree with Gandhiji if the circumstances so dictated.

Gandhiji called C. Rajagopalachari, affectionately known as Rajaji as his "conscience keeper". A brilliant lawyer endowed with intellectual attainments of a very high order, Rajaji was lured by the extraordinary simplicity and nobility of Gandhian philosophy. His role during Non Co-operation Movement was significant in that he was able to feel the pulse of the people. In the organisation matters he was able to devote with greater energy and he remained in the forefront of the party-leadership for many decades.

C. Rajagopalachari remained a faithful follower of Gandhiji in his social reforms programmes and was able to arouse the feelings of the people in the South towards the civil disobedience movement in the thirties he played a useful role in organizational work. he did not always endorse Gandhiji's decisions to go on fast and he had shown a pragmatic approach to the problems.

Rajaji became the Premier of the Madras Presidency after the implementation of the 1935 Act towards provincial autonomy and proved himself to be an able administrator as well. Many of the norms laid down by him regarding the financial and miral integrity of the ruler were not only commendable but would go a long way in establishing healthy administration at any time.

Rajaji realized the rift between the League and the Indian National Congress and he was able to foresee that great difficulties would be encountered if attempts were made to ignore the League's claims. He also suggested a National Government in order that India might co-operate fully with the British. Gandhiji's civil disobedience movement in 1940 was actively supported by Rajaji who was imprisoned.

He clearly recognized the need for compromise with the Muslim League before any concerned attempts could be undertaken for liberating the country from the foreign yoke. This recognition to Muslim view-point was misconstrued and Rajaji left the Congress. But even outside the official cognizance of Congress, he deemed it to be his duty to work for independence and pleaded for co-operation between the League and the Congress.

Many accused him of covertly accepting the "Pakistan", claims of Jinnah but Rajaji was for more concerned with avoiding clashes and communal acrimony. Rajaji became the first and the last Indian to hold the post of Governor General after Mountbatten left for England. He had many high posts under the Congress Government but in the later years he became a bitter critic of Jawaharlal Nehru's administration and went to the extent of forming a new party.

13.10 LET US SUM UP

This units provides details to understand about the partition of India and how India got freedom from Britishers. The lack of understanding of the logic of communalism in the 1940s was only symptomatic of the general failure of the Congress in contending with communalism.

Though Congress was committed to secularism but it failed to formulate a long term strategy to fight communalism in its different forms at the level of both politics and ideology. Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, C.Rajagobalachari scarified their personal careers and got involved in the freedom struggle in India. Jinnah, the architect of Pakistan, from 1940 to 1947 pursued a clock and dagger policy to secure the creation of Pakistan.

13.11 KEY WORDS

1. **Deplore**	-	Grieve Over
2. **Passionate**	-	Lacking self control
3. **Truncated**	-	Cut off the tip
4. **Referendum**	-	System by which a question is submitted to the Direct vote of the electorate.

13.12 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No. 1	Refer Section No.13.1
For Question No. 2	Refer Section No.13.4
For Question No. 3	Refer Section No.13.6
For Question No. 4	Refer Section No.13.7 – 13.8

13.13 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READINGS

1. **H.V. Hodson.,** - The Great Divide Britain, India and Pakistan.
2. **W.H. Johes morries** - The Transfer of Power.
3. **H. Kabir.,** - Muslim Politics, 1906-1942
4. **G.Campbell.,** - Modern India.

13.14.QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Trace the Circumstances that led to the partition of India.
2. Briefly explain the achievements of C. Rajagopalachari.
3. Examine the contribution of Lord Mountbatten to the cause of Indian Independence.

LESSON - 14

THE LEGACY OF BRITISH GROWTH OF LOCAL SELF - GOVERNMENT - DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The first press was started by the Portuguese Christian missionaries. Then in 1780, James Augusts Hickey, published the first newspaper in India. The press has became a powerful social institution and this is proved by the fact that the press has been glorified as the fourth estate. The introduction of modern education was an event of great historical significance, probably the most enduring result of the British rule in India in the intellectual development of the people on a new line, and the consequent changes in their political, social, religious and economic out took. In addition to that local bodies constitute the strength of a free nation without which a nation can not enjoy the spirit of liberty.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

a) Understand the power of press.
b) Realise the importance of the education .
c) Know the development of the local self government and its importance.

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 The press
  14.1.1. The press Act of 1799
  14.1.2. The Liberation of the press (1835)
  14.1.3. The Licensing Act of 1857
  14.1.4. The Registration Act
  14.1.5. The Vernacular Act of 1878
  14.1.6. The Indian Press Acts of 1910 and 1931
14.2. Public services
14.3. Education in India upto AD 1854
14.4. Christian Missions in Education
14.5. Development of Education

14.5.1 Woods Dispatch
14.5.2 The Hunter Commission (1882)
14.5.3 The Universities Act (1904)
14.5.4 Calcutta University Commission
14.5.5 Sergeant Commission
14.5.6 Radhakrishnan Commission (1946)
14.5.7 The University Grants Commission
14.5.8 Kothari Commission
14.6. Local self Government
14.6.1. Resolutions of Mayo and Ripon
14.6.2. Decentralization Commission Report (1909)
14.6.3. Resolution of 1918
14.6.4. Under the Act of 1919 and 1935
14.6.5. After Independence
14.7. Let us sum up
14.8. Key words
14.9. Answer for CYP Questions.
14.10. Books for Further Reading
14.11. Questions and Exercises.

14.1. THE PRESS

The History of Press in Indian begins with the coming of the Europeans. In 1557, the Portuguese Christian missionaries established a printing press and published a book. The English East India Company, in 1684, established a printing press at Bombay. However, in order the withhold the news of the malpractices done by the Company, they did not publish any newspaper for about a century. In 1780, James Augustus Hickey, published the first newspaper in India entitled "The Bengal Gazette". For his vehement criticism of government officials and attacks on the Governor-General, Hickey's newspaper was suppressed in 1782. The editor of the newspaper was imprisoned for a long term. As a result of this, the number of newspapers have been increased.

The Calcutta Gazette, The Bengal Journal, The Calcutta, Amusement. The Calcutta Chronicle, The Madras Courtier, The Bombay Herald etc, were the new arrivals. But the publishers of these newspapers, wanted to avoid friction with the government. The Company's officials worried that these newspapers might reach

London and expose their misdoings to the Home authorities. So, the enforced Pre-censorship, some times deported the offending editor for anti-government policies.

14.1.1. The Press Act of 1799

Lord Wellesley had no liking for the "tribe of editors". He introduced a Censorship Press Act in 1799. He insisted on all editors declaring their name and address to government and getting its approval for every item of publication. In 1807 the Censorship Act was extended to cover journals, phamplets and even books. The rigorous censorship was relaxed by Lord Hastings. He tried to put his ideas in Practice. In 1818, the pre-censorship of the press was dispensed with. But, the Government laid down few rules for the guidance of newspaper editors with a view to prevent the discussion of topics likely to affect the authorities. Adam, who held the office of Governor-General for 7months between the departure of Hastings and the arrival of Amherst, took a different view and imposed a system of licensing newspapers. In August 1823, he expelled James Silk Buckingham, editor of the Calcutta Journal, to Britain for the libels which he regularly published.

14.1.2. The Liberation of the Press (1835)

Lord William Bentinck's administration adopted a liberal attitude towards the press in India. Charles Metcalfe, Governor-General during 1835-36 repealed the Ordinance of 1823, and earned the fame of 'Liberator of Indian Press'. Lord Macaulay a leader of the Whig party, insisted upon a free press in India. These liberal policies continued unchanged till 1856 A.D. The result was the rapid growth of newspapers all over the country.

14.1.3. The Licensing Act of 1857

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 caused more troubles to the Government. It was this revolt compelled the Government to ramose restrictions on the Indian Press. The Government of Indian passed an act in 1857 to reduce the freedom of Press. The act prevented the keeping of printing presses or publications without a license from the Government. The Government was empowered to prohibit the circulation of any newspaper, book or any printed material. However, this act was only an emergency measure. It was in action only for a year.

14.1.4. The Registration Act

In 1867, the Government of India introduced an act of Registration of press and books. This act even replaced the act of 1835. Every newspaper or

Check Your Progress Questions

1 .Explain the press act of 1799?

2. Write a short note on the vernacular press act of 1878?

book was required to have printed legibly on it the name of the printer and publisher and the place of printing. A copy of the book had to be supplied free of cost to the government. The fourth amendment of this act was made in 1953.

14.1.5. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878

After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the spirit of social bitterness between the British and the Indians was increasing. The Vernacular Press and developed the policy of vehement criticism on the policies of the Government of India. The great famine of 1876-78, and the uncared activities of the government made the Indians and the press restive. Lord Lytton wanted to suppress the activities of the Vernacular Press. Hence, the Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878. By this act, the printer and publisher of any Vernacular press was directed to enter into a bond with the District Magistrates. They were ordered not to publish anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection against the government orantipathy between persons of different races, castes and religious among Her Majesty's subjects. The printers and publishers were also directed to deposit security for their newspapers. The District Magistrates were given power to confiscate any vernacular newspaper. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 showed discrimination between the English Press and the Vernacular Press. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed in 1882 when Lord Ripon assumed the Governor Generalship. But, the misery caused by the famine of 1896-98 again forced the Government to impose restrictions on the press.Lord Curzon's Government followed a repressive policy and enacted Newspapers Act in 1908. The act empowered the magistrates to confiscate any printing press and its property for publishing objectionable material. The editors and printers were given the option to appeal to the High Court within 15 days of the order of forfeiture of the press. Under this act about seven presses were confiscated.

14.1.6 The Indian Press Acts of 1910 and 1931

The Indian Press Act of 1910 revived the worst features of the Press Act of 1878. The act empowered the Provincial Government to demand at the time of Registration a security of not less than 500 rupees and not more than 2000 rupees from the owner of a printing press or publisher of a newspaper. For fresh registration, the Government was directed to demand a security of not less than 1000 rupees and not more than 10,000 Rupees. The Printer of every newspaper was ordered to supply to the government free of cost two copies of each issue of the newspaper published. Under this act repressive actions were taken against 191 printing presses and newspapers.

In 1921, a press committee was appointed to review the working of the press laws. On the recommendation of the committee the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910 were repealed. The Civil Disobedience Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi and other political movements forced the Government to issue a fresh Press Ordinance in 1930 'to provide for the better control of the Press'. The Press Act of 1931 gave sweeping powers to the provincial governments in suppressing the propaganda for the civil disobedience movement. In 1932, the Press Act of 1931 was amplified in the form of the Criminal Amendment Act of 1932.

During the World War II, Press censorship was reintroduced and at one time the publication of all news relating to the activities of the Indian National Congress declared illegal. In March 1947, the Government of Indian appointed a Press Enquiry Committee to examine the working of the press Laws. Among the recommendations of the committee were the repeal of the Indian Emergency Powers Act of 1931 and that of the Indian States Acts of 1932 and 1934. After the Independence, the Government of India Act of 1951, imposed restrictions on the newspapers. This act remained in force till 1956.

14.2. PUBLIC SERVICES

The growth of public services in India mainly depended on the changing attitude of the British administration in India. Some of the steps like reducing the age for I.C.S. examination had the undertones of snubbing Indian intelligentia. These type of activities of the British led to the establishment of the Indian National Movement. In the beginning the servants of the Company were very stringent and noted for their malpractices and misbehaviour. Robert Clive, during the time of Lord Cornwallis, the Pubic services received a through shake-up. Every civil servant of the government was directed to sign a covenant stating that they would not carry private trade and not receive gifts. The salaries of these servants were increased. High posts were reserved for the civil servants. All these steps were taken in order eliminate the Indians from the top of the civil service. Lord Wellesley established the College of Fort William in order to instruct the civil servants in literature, science and the native languages. For the same purpose the College of Fort. St. George was established at Madras in 1812. Similarly a college was established to facilitate training for the civil servants.

During the later half of the 19th Century a good number of changes were introduced. In the Charter Act of 1853 a proposal was made to introduce open competitions. But the principle of open competition was not favourable to Indians because various handicaps were there for the Indians, participating in the examinations. In 1879 it was decided that one-sixth of the posts in the civil service should be filled by the Indians. They were to be selected by the provincial government but subject to the approval of the government of India. A public Service commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Atchison. In this report the commission suggested the government to divide the services, into three. 1. The Indian Civil service, 2. The Provincial service and 3. The subordinate service. But the Indians were not satisfied with this change. The Congress was always demanding for the simultaneous nations. In 1893, a resolution was passed in the House of Commons suggesting for the holding of simultaneous examinations for I.C.S. in India and in England. But this was left uncared. The report and the recommendations of the Islington were vehemently criticized by the Indians.

The Government of India Act of 1919 advocated some principles and made few recommendations. The act suggested for the abolitions of racial discrimination in appointment. It also recommended for the increase of salary and allowances. The act provided that the civil servants should hold office during His Majesty's pleasure and should not be dismissed by any autority subordinate to that by which he was appointed to enquire into the working of the civil service. The Commission recommended for the establishment of a public service in India.

The Government of Indian Act of 1935 clarified the rights of civil and military services in India. The act also provided for the establishment of a federal public service commission. In course of time the British believed in their mission of leading. India towards English ways of thought the feeling. After the Independence few changes were made and, in 1966 the government of India appointed a administrative reform commission to study the working of the Indian administration.

14.3 EDUCATION IN INDIA UP TO A.D. 1854

During the advent of the British in India, the native Hindus and Muslims have their own educational institutions. These educational institutions were linked up with the religion. During the early period of the British rule they left the educational system of the Indians undisturbed. However, Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasah. In the next few years, an educational institution was set up at Banaras. In 1792-93, in the House of Commons Wilberforce suggested the sending of school masters and missionaries to India. But his suggestion was left uncared. A few years later, Charles Grant submitted a memorandum in which he suggested the company to improve the condition of the Indian people by imparting to them a knowledge of the English language.Lord Minto, in 1811, wanted to introduce the study of Literature and Science in the existing colleges. Raja Ram Mohan Roy formed an association and suggested that the Hindus were to receive instructions in European languages and sciences. A Hindu College was established in 1817. A proposal of the establishment of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta was opposed by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. But his opposition was left uncared.

The Court of Directors wanted educationally qualified Indians to help them in the administration. In 1823, Elphinstone urged the establishment of schools for teaching English and European science. The demand for the study of English also had increased tremendously. Thousands of English books were sold. English classes were attached to the Calcutta Madrasah and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. Their started a controversy as to whether instructions should be given through English or through the oriental languages. The orientalists insisted on teaching through the oriental languages. To settle the problem, the government appointed a committee under Lord Mecualay in 1835. Lord Macualay committee submitted a minute which turned the scales against the orientalists. His suggestions were approved by Bentinck, the Governor General, and a resolution was passed on 7th March 1855. Accordingly it was decided that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

14.4 CHRISTIAN MISSION IN EDUCATION

The Danish Missionaries opened an institution for the training of teachers, in 1716. In 1717 two charity schools were opened at Madras. They also had opened English schools at other places. During the year 1820 the missionaries were doing a lot of work in this field, but their main object was not to educate the Indians but to preach their religion Wilson College at Bombay and Christian College at Madras were started by them. At Agra Saint John's College was started in 1853. Missionary Colleges were started at Masulipatinam and Nagpur in which bible classes were made compulsory.

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Give an account of the woods Despatch?

4. Mention about Dr.Radhakrishnan commission and Dr.D.S. kothari commission.

14.5 DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

14.5.1 Wood's Dispatch :

In 1854 Sir Charles Wood suggested for the reorganization of the educational system. His dispatch to the Court of Directors set forth a scheme of education for wider and more comprehensive than any one which had been suggested that the English language was to be taught, wherever there was a demand for it. Wood's dispatch comprehended primary, secondary and collegiate education and provided for the establishment of universities.

According to the dispatch, the aim of education was the dissemination of the arts, science, philosophy and literature of the west through the media of both English and the Indian languages. It also suggested that scholarships were to be awarded to meritorious students. An another recommendation of the dispatch was the establishment of institution for training teachers for all classes of schools. More attention was to be given to elementary education. In 1857 the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were founded. An Engineering College at Roorki and a Girl's College at Calcutta had been established.

14.5.2 The Hunter Commission (1882)

In 1882 Lord Ripon appointed a Commission headed by Sir William Hunter, to enquire into the manner in which Wood's suggestions had been carried out and to suggest further improvements. The Commission advocated for the cautious withdrawal of the state from direct management of institutions of higher education. The Commission suggested that as a first step secondary schools were to be transferred to the natives wherever possible ordinary and special grants were to be made for the colleges. More attention was to be paid towards physical education. A part of the provincial revenues was to be set apart for the purpose of strengthening the primary education. Muslims were to be encouraged to learn western education. The recommendations of the Hunter Commission were accepted by the government and district educational offices were appointed in the provinces to supervise the educational progress.

14.5.3 The Universities Act (1904)

Lord Curzon appointed a University Commission to specially consider the condition of the Universities and colleges. The Commission suggested that the rules and regulations of affiliation of private institutions should be made more strict. Each affiliated institution or College should have a governing body; the senate and syndicate of the Universities should be re-organised and more attention was to be paid towards the improvement of research. Lord Curzon wanted to enforce the suggestions of the Commission and passed the Universities Act of 1904. Accordingly, the strength of the senate was reduced and the number of those to be nominated by the Chancellor was increased. Members of senate only could be members of the syndicate. The rules of affiliation to private institutions were made more strict. But the public opinion in India demanded for more elected members in the senate and they also wanted to liberalise the rules of affiliation. But Lord Curzon turned a deaf ear to these demands in 1910 a separate education department of the Central Government was established. in 1913, Sir, Harburt Bulter, introduced a resolution laying down lines for further expansion of education, proper utilization of the funds available and the demand for more technical schools. The outbreak of the world war delayed the implementation of the resolution but Universities of Banaras and Patna were started in 1916 and 1917 respectively.

14.5.4 Calcutta University Commission

The Government of India appointed the Sadler Commission in 1919, to enquire into the working of the Calcutta University. The commission was expected to study the organization and working of other Indian Universities with a view to helping it to formulate the policy of the Calcutta University. The Commission made a through study of education in India including secondary education and made useful recommendation. Dacca and Lucknow Universities were started in 1920. Allahbad University was started in 1912 and Delhi University was started in 1922. By this time there were 14 Universities in India.

14.5.5 Sergeant Scheme

Sir John Sergeant, educational adviser to the Government of India prepared an educational scheme namely Sergeant scheme in 1944. The scheme recommended free and compulsory elementary education for boys and girls between 6 and 14 and prevention of wastage in education. A national youth movement was to be started throughout the country. The movement was to teach the young men to build their bodies and serve their country.

14.5.6 Radhakrishnan Commission (1946)

After the Independence the Government of India appointed University Commission under the chairmanship of Dr.S.Radhakrishnan. The Commission was expected to enquire into the working of the University education and to make recommendations for further development. Among its important recommendations were the setting of more rural universities, greater financial assistance, more freedoms and scholarships for the poor, the continuation of English as the medium of instruction for the upkeep of standards, secular education, better qualification and norms for teachers, appointment and promotion for teachers on the basis of merit and 1000 students as the maximum strength of a college. The teachers were categorized as professors, lecturers and instructors.

14.5.7. The University Grants Commission

In 1956, the Parliament of India passed the University Grants Commissions Act. In the same year the University Grants Commission was set up as a permanent statutory body with a Chairman, Secretary and 8 members as an expert body of advisers to the central government of the allocation of funds for the improvement of the universities and colleges. Every members of this body holds office for a period of 6 years.

For the purpose of ascertaining the financial needs of university or its standards of teaching, examination and research, the Commission can, after consultation with the university cause an inspection of any department to be made. The Commission has to inform the university about the time of inspection. If a university fails to comply with the recommendations of the Commissions, the latter can withhold its grants to that university.

14.5.8 Kothari Commission

By a resolution dated 14 July 1964 the Government of India appointed an Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, "to advise government of education at all stages and in all stages and in all respects" (except legal and medical education) The commission has pointed out various deficiencies and weaknesses in the educational system of India which are responsible for turmoils in the educational world.

Among the important recommendations of the Commissions, were the improvement of the status and emolument of the teachers of all grades, particularly in view of the scaring prices of articles, adequate facilities to the universities and colleges selective admissions in higher education, education through regional languages at the under – graduate level and retention of English medium of teaching at the post – graduate level and at least for some years to come suitable literature in all subjects for advanced teaching in humanities, social sciences and medicine has been prepared. The Commission also recommended that 'some form of Social and National service should be made an integral part of education at all stages'.

14.6 LOCAL SELF – GOVERNMENT

It is true, that local bodies constitute the strength of free nation. Without municipal a nation can not have the spirit of liberty. It is worth to discuss the working of the Local Self Government in India from its inception. The earliest efforts in this system were made in the presidencies of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay.

Under the Regulating Act of 1773, the Justices of Peace were, empowered to appoint scavengers for the cleaning and repairing of the streets of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and for the grant of licences for the sale of spirituous liquors. Between 1817 and 1830 the roads and drains were handed over to the Justice of Peace to be maintained by them out of their assessment since the Justices of Peace did not take much interest in their work, their power was gradually transferred into the hands of Chief Magistrates. In 1840, 1841 and 1845 Acts were passed for the presidencies of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay respectively, These acts widened the purposes of which the Municipal assessment was to be utilized. The inhabitants of the town were given control over the assessment was to be utilized. The inhabitants of the town were given control over the assessment and collection of taxes. But the request was not favourable and there was no public response for it. In most of the provinces other than presidency towns, the Commissions were appointed on the act passed in 1850 A.D.

In 1856 an act was passed for the improvement of sanitation and for the better assessment and collection of rates. There Commissioners were appointed in each town and were given powers to levy dues in 1858. However, these acts failed to do the needful, quarrels started between the Commissioners and the justice of peace. By an act of the government, all executive powers were vested with the government officials. A Controller of Accounts was appointed to remedy the defects in accounts. Since the Controller of Account was a subordinate to the Commissioner, he failed to control the accounts.

After a lot of controversy the membership of the Bombay corporation was reduced to 64. 16 were nominated by the government, 16 were elected by the resident justices and 32 were directly elected by the rate – players. The executive power was in the hands of the commissioner. An act was passed for the Calcutta corporation n 1899. Accordingly, one half of the Commissioners were to be elected by the rate – payers, the remainder, being appointed, 4 by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta Traders Association, 2 by Commissioners and 15 by the local government. The executive power of the Calcutta Corporation was vested in the Chairman. A general committee was appointed consisting of the Chairman and 12 Commissioners. In Madras, the elective system was introduced in 1881. Out of 32, sixteen members were to be elected by the rate payers. The President and two Vice – Presidents were salaried officers, appointed by the government of India. In Madras in 1904, a new Municipal Act was passed on the lines of Calcutta. During 1918 all the presidency towns and approximately a uniform system of government.

14.6.1 Resolutions of Mayo and Ripon

During the government of Lord Mayo, in 1870, a resolution dealing with decentralization of finance was passed. The resolution also referred to the necessary of taking further steps to bring local interests. Between 1871 and 1874, many municipal acts were passed; these acts extended the elective principle. In some provinces the management of the income had been freely entrusted to local bodies. Municipalities also had increased in number.

Lord Ripon, the father of the Local Self – Government in India, introduced a resolution in 1881. His resolution is a great landmark in the growth of Local Self – Government in India. The resolution directed the provincial governments to transfer considerable revenues to the local institutions. The Government of India directed the local governments to find our that what sources of revenue could be transferred from the provincial to the local bodies. The local governments were directed to examine other item also that could be handed over to the local bodies. The local governments were told that “It would be hopeless to expect any real development of self government if the local bodies were subject to check or interfered in matters of details”. It was also decided that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to the local bodies.

In 1882, another resolution was passed. Lord Ripon said that the expansion of the system of local self government would not bring about change for the better form the point of view of efficiency in municipal administration. Lord Ripon refused to accept that the Indians were indifferent to the principle of self – government. He indicated the general lines on which further steps were to be taken for the progress of Local Self – Government. The Local Governments were directed to maintain local boards in every district. The number of non official members was to be very large and the official element was not to exceed one third of the whole. It was also suggested that the system of election for the members of the local boards were to be introduced.

The resolution directed the government that it should “revise and check the acts of the local bodies but not dictate them”. Lord Ripon suggested that the executive officers should supervise and control the acts of the local Boards rather than taking actual parts in the proceedings. According to him “the non – official members must be allowed to feel that real power is placed in their hands, and that they have real responsibilities to discharge”.

The Local – Governments were directed to hand over to the local Boards complete control over the local rate and assess, lincences, tax assessment and collection, pounds and ferry receipts, etc. The local Boards were to be granted lump - sum grants from the provincial revenues. The District Engineer was asked to help the local bodies in their work of supervision and maintenance of buildings.

The resolution of Lord Ripon gave a definite lead and laid down a clear cut path for all provincial government really interested in the advance of local self – government”. In the works of D.E. Wacha, the Ripon Resolution “has forever mad immemorial in the annals of India and viceroyalty of the good liberal minded Lord Ripon”. However it cannot be denied that both the government of India and the provincial government did not carry out the policy laid down in the resolution for a long time. Because men like Lord Curzon were the enemies of Local Self - Government all the good wishes of Lord Ripon were ignored.

14.6.2 Decentralization Commission Report (1909)

The Royal Commission of Decentralization examined the whole question of Local Self Government in India and made valuable recommendations. A reference was made on the lack of finical resources. The Commissioner recommended for the adoption of special measures for the revival of village panchayats. It was all so suggested by the Commission that village panchayats should be given to the village panchayats. The Commission recommended for the establishment of a sub District Board in every taluk. The municipalities were directed to take over education. However, these recommendations were also not carried out by the government.

Check Your Progress Questions

5. Critically examine the resolution of Rippan?

14.6.3 Resolution of 1918

The Government of India accounted in 1917 that the goal of British rule in India was to give responsible government to the Indians. In 1918, the government introduced a resolution on Local Self – Government. The resolution suggested for the removal of all the unnecessary control from the local bodies. It also suggested for an elected majority in all the local Boards and the replacement of the official chairman by the elected non-official chairman in the municipalities. Encouragement to the development of village panchayats also was suggested by the resolution. The recommendations of this resolution were partly accepted and the official chairman of the District Board was relieved of his duty.

14.6.4 Under the Act of 1919 and 1935

Under the Government of India Act of 1919, Local Self – Government department was transferred into the hands of an Indian minister who was to the provincial legislature for the same. As the Finance Department was not under the control of the particular minister, not much work was actually done in the provinces. In every province the Legislature tried to make local bodies as effective training grounds for larger and political responsibilities. Acts were passed in every province for the growth of village panchayats. But except in Madras, Bengal and Uttarpradesh, the village panchayats had not made much progress. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, the department of Local Self – Government came under the control of a popular minister who could afford to put more money at the disposal of the local bodies. But the financial resources of local bodies became less. Asia result, not much progress was made into the field of Local Self – Government.

14.6.5 After Independence

After the Independence of India, Panchayat Raj Acts were passed in many States with a view to give more powers to village panchayats. A committee namely Local Finance Enquire Committee was appointed to enquire into the financial condition of the local bodies. The committee submitted its report in 1951 and suggested for the improvement of the finance to the local bodies. The local bodies in India have to face many handicaps particularly the lack of finance is a great handicap. The local bodies do not have enough resource to perform their duties. There is also the lake of public interest in the work of local bodies.

14.7. LET US SUM UP

This unit provides detail about the British legacy and the growth of local self government. The press was a formidable weapon in the hands of the European peoples in the 17th 18th and the 19th centuries, in integrating themselves as nations, in organizing struggle against feudal disunity maintained by the feudal nobility, and in establishing the modern national state, society and culture. It is also building up of an increasingly strong national sentiment among the Indian people. The local self government was introduce by lord Rippan in 1882. His resolution is a great land mark in the growth of local self government in India. It was very helpful to run the administration in every presidencies. In the field of education the British government in India has form the beginning tried to shape and control the course of public education. The introduction of modern education in India was a progressive act of the British rule. English education laid the foundation of renaissance in India.

14.8. KEY WORDS

1.	**Misconstrued**	-	Misunderstood
2.	**Orient a lists**	-	Expert in oriental languages and history
3.	**Majesty's**	-	stately
4.	**Undertones**	-	Subdued tone
5.	**Snubbing**	-	tuned up.

14.9. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer section No.14.1.1
For Question No.2	Refer section No.14.1.5
For Question No.3	Refer section No.14.5.1
For Question No.4	Refer section No.14.5.6.-14.5.8
For Question No.5	Refer section No.14.6.1

14.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

B. Dayal.,	-	The Development of Modern Indian Education.
B.R. Sethe.,	-	Studies in Modern Indian History
Garatt.,	-	The Legacy of India
J. Mill.,	-	History of British India.

14.11 QUESTION AND EXERCISES

1. Give an account of the British legacy to press.
2. Bring out the various stages in the evolution of Local-Self-government in India during the British rule.

LESSON – 15

SOCIO & RELIGIOUS REFORMS OF 19TH & 20TH CENTURIES - ECONOMIC CONDITION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Generally, life in India, more than in any other country, was dominated by religious and spiritual forces. That spiritual land was conquered and controlled by the evils of sectarian prejudices, parochial mentality, chaotic regionalism, racial distinctions, religious orthodoxy and the baseless philosophy of untouchables during the 19th and 20th centuries. There were numerous social drawbacks such as thagi, sati, jauhar, infants marriage, purdah system, slavery, prohibition of remarriages of windows and restrictions on the 'the education of women. Heterogeneous population gross superstitious beliefs, caste-ridden social superstructure, warring fragments-all these ate away her unity and vitality. Castes were sub-divided and religions bisected. Evils like polygamy and prostitution were pre-dominant in Indian society.

The philosophy of poverty had driven them to superstitious beliefs. Orthodoxy made them to consider the first railway from Bombay to Thana (1858) as a "devil's invention". Ceremonies, festivals, rites and rituals increased. Strict adherence to etiquette was observed. Social customs and conventions made them practically backward. In the economic field, her flourishing trade and industry began to decay. In addition to Indian soldiers, the British Government in India employed British soldiers, also. Their salaries were paid from Indian treasury. Famines visited Indian many a time. Diseases and pestilence followed famines. The condition of the lot was pitiable. The British Government in India was not for the welfare of the Indians but of the British. They had been plundering much of Indian economy and prospering at the cost of every Indian.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

- Understand the social condition of the people before 18th century.
- Realize the importance of the social reform movements.
- Know about the social evils and social disorder.

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Social Conditions of the People.
- 15.1.1 Social Evils.
- 15.1.2 Western Education in India.

15.2 Social Reform Movements.
- 15.2.1 The Brahma Samaj – Raja Ram Mohan Roy.
- 15.2.2 The Prathana Samaj
- 15.2.3 The Arya Samaj
- 15.2.4 The Ramakrishna Mission
- 15.2.5 The Theosophical society.

15.3 Field of Reforms
- 15.3.1 Abolition of sati.
- 15.3.2 Routing of Thuggism.
- 15.3.3 Suppression of Infanticide
- 15.3.4 Legislation of Remarriage of Windows.
- 15.3.5 The Emancipation of the slaves.
- 15.3.6 Prohibition of Child marriage
- 15.3.7 Emergence of women
- 15.3.8 The Growth of Education
- 15.3.9 Economic upsurge.

15.4. Economic Development
- 15.4.1. Famines
- 15.4.2. Irrigation

15.5. Social Developments

15.6. Survodaya movement

15.7. Rationalism – Ambedkar

15.8. E.V. Ramasamy Naicker

15.9. Let us sum up

15.10. Key words

15.11. Answer for CYP Questions

15.12. Books for further reading

15.13. Questions and Exercises

15.1 SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

15.1.1 Social Evils

The degrading position of women in Hindu society at the beginning of the nineteenth century was indeed most deplorable. It was a long tale of suffering and humiliation almost from birth to death. Among several tribes, the birth of a girl was regarded as specially unfortunate. They did not hesitate to kill them deliberately soon after they were born. This cruel practice was called female infanticide. The marriage for girls at an early age, long before puberty and even sometimes when they were five to ten years old was the prevalent custom among the Hindus. This unlawful act was known as infant or child marriage, This deprived the girls of any opportunity of receiving any education worth the name. They had no say in the matter of selecting their partners. If the husband died, even when the wife was quite young or baby she was faced with the alternatives of either burning herself along with his dead-body, or living a miserable life, most often as a neglected if not hated, drudge in the family, Such types of widows should were white dress and must not beautify themselves with flowers. She had no right to the property of her husband and could not marry again. Many more restrictions were put on their liberty. This most in human practice of burning the widow was called sati. But though the wife had no right to marry after the death of her husband, he could marrys and number of wives, not only after her death but even during her lifetime. To carry of the household life, with a number of co-wives was bad enough but the lot of the girl; of certain classes was far more potiable. Sometimes a large number of girls-fifty, sixty or even more were married to one person. This is an example of polygamy. When women were inside or outside their homes they should cover faces by purdah. This prudal system spread only after the occupation of Indian by the Muslims. Mass murders were committed by the Rajputs (specially by the women population) only to save them from Muslim onslaughts and molestation. This practice was called Jauhar. The greatest evil from which women suffered was the denial of education, due partly to early marriages and partly to a superstition that an educated women was fated to become a widow. While the man, freely enjoyed the company of concubines and still occupied honorable position in society. A woman was condemned if she visited a paramour. Men satisfied their sexual appetite by visiting brothel houses. Thus the women population was kept under seclusion. The so called higher class people and pounded upon them as hounds and used abusive words. They did not allow them even to touch their bodies. This type of inferior treatment with superiority complex has been called untouchability. Thagi (Toggee) refers to the murderous activity of organized gangs of hereditary robbers called Thags (Thugs). Thagi literally means cheats. Crossing the ocean was thought to be a sin. All these vices and vulgarities, condemned practices, immoral behaviours and superstitious beliefs were the dominating features of Indian society.

15.1.2. Western Education in India

The introduction of western education in India brought about the greatest transformation in the 19th century. It opened the flood gates of western knowledge and thus formed an epoch in the history of Indian society, religion and economy. The British administration and commercial intercourse compelled the Indians to cultivate the knowledge of English. The credit of introducing English as a medium of instruction in Indian Universities goes without saying to Lord Macaulay (1835). In the beginning the Government did not take active step to regulate education in India. It was a slow process. There were many vehement critics and many veteran scholars to oppose and support it respectively. In course of time many institutions Oriental or Occidental sprang up through out the length and breadth of India. Primary education was made compulsory. It threw off the secluded life of the women by imparting knowledge and injecting life into them, it made the women fit for social life. The soldier reformer of the Muhammadan society, Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan who was much influenced by the English language, laid the foundation for social reform in the Muslim society. Socio-religions movements such as Brahma-Samaj and Arya-Samaj were the outcome of western education.

15.2. SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENT

15.2.1. The Brahma Samaj-Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Brahma Samaj was a separate religious and social community. Its founder Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in 1774 in an orthodox and wealthy Brahmin family, at the village of Radhanagar, Burdwan District in West Bengal. He studied Persian and Arabic at Patna. The Muslim culture and the Sufi philosophy had great influence upon him. He wore Muhammadan dress and took Muslim dishes even at home. Right from his younger days, he criticized the worship of idols. Annoyed by his caustic criticism, his father drove him out of his house. For more than three years he led a wandering life. At Banaras he mastered Sanskrit language and the sacred literature of the Hindus. In 1803, he wrote and published a Persian treatise entitled, "A Gift to Monotheists" and thus tried to found a Universal Religion in the doctrine of the "Unity of the Godhood".

He served the Company twice under Mr. Digby a convenated servant of the East India Company. As he was not made permanent, he resigned his job but served Mr. Digby privately. His stay at Rangpur (1809-1814) was a fruitful one. He became versatile genius in the modern tantric works. He held many discussion meetings and actively participated in many debates on religious matters. During these years, he had a keen interest in European politics especially in the course of the French Revolution.

After his retirement in 1814, he settled down in Calcutta where he came into contact with number of persons influenced by western education. With their co-operation, he founded the Atmiya Sabha in 1815. In a famous debate on idol worship in 1819 he vanquished Subramanya Sastri, an erudite Brahman of Madras. In 1825, he established the Vedanta College for teaching the monotheistic doctrines of the Vedanta. He published a commentary on the monotheistic doctrines of the Upanishads. This produced an intense and widespread agitation in Indian society. In 1821, he published the book entitled, "the Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness". The Baptist Missionaries of Serampur were roushed by this and they leveled hostile criticisms against him. But he was successful in producing three "Appeals to the Christian Public" Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary was converted to the Raja's Unitarian Principles. This led them to foundation of a Unitarian Mission in Calcutta. In course of time, this mission led to the establishment of the Brahma Samaj (one God Society) on 20th August 1828. The first Samaj was opened with Tarachand Chakravarti as its Secretary. Many Sanskrit works were read and translated into Bengali.

The orthodox Hindu Community started a rival organization, the Dharma Sabha. Both Societies had debates and discussion meetings. People of different status took part in their great controverisies. The basic theme behind this was to receive monotheism in India.

After the death of Ram Mohan Roy in 1823, the Samaj was looked after by Dwarakanath Tagore. Devendranath Tagore a faithful follower of Ram Mohan and the eldest son of Dwarakanath started another Society the Tattvabodhini

Sabha. The convenant framed by Ram Mohan was strictly followed by this Society. The Tattvabodhini Patricka undertook the task of the publication of the works of Ram Mohan. Within a short span of years Brahma Samaj took the shape of a Vedantist Movement. In course of years, the infallibility of the Vedanta was given up.

The period between 1857 and 1886 witnessed social upheaval and the emergency of Kesab Chandra Sen. He was the spirit behind the Samaj during these years. Under his able leadership the Samaj advocated female education, supported widow remarriage, cried down intemperance, denounced polygamy, tried to rationalize Brahma doctrine and sought to conduct the affairs of the Chruch on strictly constitutional principles. In 1862, he was elevated to the position of the Acharya or the chief. He supported inter-caste marriages and opposed many orthodox practices. In 1864, the number of the Samaj increased to 2,000. As a result of his progressive ideas, a split occurred in the Samaj in 1866. Kesab parted hands with Devendranath who became the head of the Adi brahma Samaj. Henceforth Devendranath laboured for religious revival and Chandra Sen for social upheaval.

Kesab was the first to inaugurate an all India movement of religious and social reforms. He made a missionary tour to Bombay, Madras and the North Western Provinces. During this period a young, talented and learned scholer, Surendra Nath Banerji worked for political reforms. his followers openly proclaimed loyaly to the British Government.

In 1872, the Civil Marriage Act (Brahma Marriage Bill) was passed. it was applicable not only to the Hindus but also to the Muslims and Christians. Monogamy was made obligatory. The minimum age of the bride and bridegroom was fixed at 14 and 18 respectively. The Act facilitated the abolition of caste distinctions. Thus, the Brahma Samaj set the wheel of reformation to roll in India.

Devendranath proclaimed the freedom of our reason from the bondage of ancient scriptural authority. Kesab proclaimed the absolute freedom of the individual conscience from the bondage of caste and customs. "The Raja's was not, strictly speaking, a movement of active revolt; Devendra's was really a movement of religious revolt; Kesab's representing the stage in the evolution of the Brahma Samaj was a movement of social revolt".

The Brahma Samaj has effectively helped the progress of Hindu Society; firstly by stemming the idle of conversion to Christianity; secondly by holding a living example of society based on progressive and liberal ideal views; and thirdly by supplying eminent persons who advanced liberal ideals in other spheres of life such as politics. In this way, step by step, the freedom movement in modern India grew and developed becoming larger and larger under the inspiration of the Brahma Samaj.

15.2.2. The Prarthana Samaj

In 1867, Kesab laid the foundation of the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay. Dr. Atmaram Pandurang was the leader of this Samaj. Veteran scholars like R.G. Bandarkar and M.G. Ranade Joined the Samaj and infused new strength in it. Their main motto was to encourage the theistic worship and social reform. They protested against the existing corruption of the Hindu religion. Ranade's article on 'Theist's Confession of Faith' was an attempt on the evil practice of idol worship. They laid special stress on the abandonment of caste, introduction of widow-remarriage, encouragement of female education, and the abolition of purdah and child marriage. They established a Founding Asylum and Orphanage at Pandarpur and founded Night Schools, Widow's Home, a Depressed Classes Mission and Widow Marriage Association in 1861 and the famous Deccan Education Society. They did not regard the Veda as divine. They had on belief in the doctrine of transmigration and incarnation of God. The Prarthana Samaj subscribed to the beliefs of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. This paid allegiance to Hindusism. The members observed the ceremonies of Hinduism. So the Samaj could not spread widely. It had a good hold in the Telugu country and the Madras Presidency.

15.2.3. The Arya Samaj

In order to guard and encourage the Vedanta philosophy Sankara (Dayananda Saraswathi) founded the Arya Samaj in 1875. Mula Sankara (Dayananda) was born in 1824 in an orthodox Brahmin family of Sankara in the old Morvi Statre in Gujarat. A visit to a temple on the Sivaratri night changed his mind greatly. In order to overcome death, he practiced Yoga, When his father made all arrangements for this marriage he left his home and became an ascetic. He laboured for solving the mystery of life and death and attain salvation. For fifteen years from 1845 to 1860, he wandered all over India. He received his education at the feet of Swami Birajananda. After completing the education he took a pledge to devote his life to the dissemination of the truth. Here after, he preached his views at numerous public meetings. The public meeting held at Kasi made him a public figure and henceforth began his effective mission. He visited

Calcutta and had discussed with brahma Samjists. He preached his philosophy in Hindi, the language of the people. He toured extensively over all parts of India except Madras. He translated the Vedas and wrote many books. His mission proved very successful in Punjab. The Arya Samaj venerated cows and believed in the efficacy of a sacrifice of butter in the hearth-fire. It condemned not only polytheism but also monotheism as preached by Christianity and Islam. It accepted the infallibility of the transmigration of soul. It regarded the Vedas as supreme and independent works. But, it criticized the superiority of the Brahmins merely on the ground of birth. Vedic philosophy was taught to everybody in order to break the barriers. It denounced the worship of Gods and Goddesses. But it emphasized the worship of Suddhi. Interacts marriage was encouraged. Child marriage was decried. But it was opposed to the remarriage of widows. It welcomed the arrival of converts. It undertook many social service schemes like famine relief and the spread of English education. On this basis was laid the foundation of the Devananda Anglo Vedic College at Lahore in 1886.

15.2.4 The Ramakrishna Mission

The Ramakrishna Mission was the last great religious and social movement which characterizes the 19th century. It was the synthesis of two great forces, the ancient or oriental and the modern or western. The Mission was named after the great sage Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836-1885), who had no education Eastern or Western. But, he led an intense spiritual life, in his splendid isolation. He considered all religions as different paths to attain salvation. Lord Krishna. Lord Jesus and Allah are the different embodiments of the one God. His broad Catholicity, mysticism, simplicity and spiritual fervour attracted a small number of occasional visitors mostly from Calcutta. He lived and died as secluded, spiritual devotee. But he was lucky to have Swami Vivekananda as his disciple.

Swami Vivekananda(1863-1902) was a young graduate of the Calcutta University. It was he who carried the message of Ramakrishna all over India. His learning, eloquence, spiritual fervor and wonderful personality gathered round him a band of followers. In 1893, he attended the famous "Parliament of Religions" at Chicago and at once made his mark. His speech in the United States and United Kingdom brought him fame and friends. Ramakrishna Missions and monasteries came to the established in different centers in the United States and in India.

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Write a short note on the Brahma samaji
2. What are the basical concepts of the prathana samaj and the Arya Samaj

The Ramakrishna Mission advocates religious and social reforms. But it takes its inspiration from the ancient culture of India. It upholds the pure pedantic doctrine. It already recognized the worship of images and the modern developments in natural sciences and technology. It puts in the forefront its programme of social service, not as a mere philanthropic work but as an essential disciplined religious form and spiritual life. It has opened many schools and dispensaries and extended voluntary monetary help to the people who were affected by famine, drought, flood and other calamity. Swami Vivekananda was hailed class patriot who inspired the Indian to have the feeling or love for the Mother country.

15.2.5 The Theosophical Society

The Theosophical Society was founded by Madam H.P. Blavatsky and Col. H.S. Olcoot in the United States in 1875. They came to India in 1876 and in 1886, established their headquarters in Adyar, a suburb of Madras. Mrs. Annie Besent joined the Society in 1886 and settled down in India in 1893. In her, rested the real success of the Society.

From the very start, this Scoeity allied itself to the Hindu revival movement. In her autobiography Mrs. Besent writes, "The Indian work is first of all, the revival, strengthening, and uplifting of the ancient religions. This has brought with it a new self-respect, a pride in the past, a belief in the future; and an inevitable result a great wave of patriotic life, the beginning of the building of a nation" She started the Central Hindu School. In Beneras, She languished her resources and energy on this institution. It gradually developed into a college and was ultimately merged into the Hindu University. This Society, with its many branches all over India, has droved an important factor in social and religious reform specially on South India. Its greatest work was moral reclamation of many educated Indians. If tried to remove the "inferiority Complex" from the minds of educated Indians. however, it did not enjoy its popularity for long.

15.3 ON THE FIELD OF REFORMS

Vigorous agitation was carried on by the English educated Hindus in the teeth of fierce opposition from the orthodox section. Temperance securities were establoished, tracts were written, and some of the best Bengali dramatists wrote satires to condemn the evils. The reformers were partially successful in their efforts. Education was promoted among women. Female infanticide and sati were prohibited and widow-remarriage was legalized, Efforts to stop polygamy were not equally successful but its rigours were considerably minimized. Justice Ranade was the Chief behind the legislation of widow remarriage and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was the guiding star of the abolition of polygamy. We my analyse the reforms one by one.

15.3.1 Abolition of Sate

Sati, an Indian custom, is a relic of ancient barbarism and the offspring of the materialistic conception of the other world. In India sati became a sacred rite. In the 7th century, Bana considered it an example of supreme human folly. Some Muslim rulers also followed this Hindu custom. Albuguerque abolished it in Goa in the 16th century. Wellesley and Minto gave some attention to it. The latter tried not to abolish it, but to regulate it.

Orders were issued in 1812 prohibiting intoxication, drugling of any other means to induce a widow to become a sati against her will. Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst were frightened or alarmed by the effects of abolition of sati in Bengal. In this enterprise, Bentinck ascertained the views of many officers of the Bengal army, sought the help of the judges of the chief criminal courts and some responsible civil servants. He was assured that nothing untoward would happen if it was abolished. Bentinck took the necessary measures for the statutory prohibition of sati. H.H. Wilson, the greatest Orientalist, and Ram mohan, the greatest social religious reformer were deadly against its legalization and regulation.

But they wanted complete abolition of it. Bentinck said, “The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus”. In 1829, a regulation made the burning of Hindu widows a crime punishable by the law courts; persons involved in this could be sentenced to death. The Regulation was extended to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies in 1830. Bintincks’ course was fully justified by the success of this legislation. In the due course, sati was abolished in Indian State. There were sporadic here and there, but an instance the whole India was free from that barbarous social custom.

15.3.2 Routing of Thuggism

The Thugs were a band of organized hereditary robber who were members of a secret society. Their tutelary deity was Kali. They performed ceremonies and recruited young men to this notorious profession. They used gesture language and received secret support of many chiefs. The beguilty wayfarers after gaining their confidence killed and robbed them. Their favourite method of murder was by strangulation with a strip of cloth. The dead body of victim was buried in a pit already prepared for it. Thus this semi religious organization of cut throats and robbers became the terror of innocent wayfarers.

The number of the Thugs increased largely in the 18th century. Before 1829, no systematic campaign against them had been undertaken by the Anglo Indian Government. In 1829 an approver disclosed all their secrets. Bentinck deputed special officers to suppress the Thugs. During the period of 1829-35, more than 2,000 of them were caught and hanged or transported. Thus the most formidable murder association was thoroughly routed.

15.3.3 Suppression of Infanticide

Infanticide, a cruel and horrible rite was suppressed in the 19th century. Female infanticide prevailed largely in Rajputana, the Panjab, Malwa, Cutch, Kathiawar, etc. About two thirds of female children were starved to death or poisoned by rubbing the nipples of their mothers with poison or thrown into the rivers. First of all, Duncan attempted to abolish it. There were many gradations of rank and restrictions on marriage. Many girls remained unmarried after attaining puberty. Excessive expenditure on marriage was customary. There was the customary prohibition of marriages between persons belonging to the same class or tribe. All these were harmful to the respect of the family. Hence, they preferred female infanticide. Colonel Walker continued the activities of Duncan, Bentinck employed special officers for this also. But the progress in the suppression of infanticide was inevitably slow.

15.3.4 Legislation of Remarriage of Widows

The Hindu Law permitted a widow to marry again, if she had lost her husband or he had become an ascetic. But inspite of religious sanctions, the custom and usages proved to be too strong. The abolition of sati in 1829 gave a chance to this movement. The Calcutta press took up the cause of the widows.

About the same time, an agitation for this reform was set up in Bombay. Several pamphlets on this subject were published in or about 1837. A few Indians set the example by marrying widows. In 1845, the British Indian Society founded the two religious associations-the Dharma Sabha and Tattvabodhini Sabha. An agitation was carried on under the inspiring leadership of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. In 1856, the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act was passed. It legalized the marriage of widows not with standing any custom and declared that the children of such marriages were legitimate. A widow Remarriage Association was started in Bombay in 1886. Yet the remarriage of Hindu widows did not make any substantial progress.

15.3.5 The Emancipation of the Slaves

Slavery was a recognized institution in India since remote antiquity. Modern India borrowed the ideas of slavery from the American colonies. This condition of Slaves was quite miserable. The branding of slaves' foreheads with red hot iron was not unknown. Many Europeans treated the salves harshly. They were whipped even for minor offences. There were regular whipping houses in Calcutta which charged one anna for each lashing. The Charter Act of 1833 required the Governor General-in Council to take steps for the amelioration of the condition of slaves and ultimate extinction of slavery. In 1813, Lord Ellenborough passed an Act prohibiting the legal recognition of slavery in India. Lord Hardinge took strong measures for the extinction of the horrible practice of human sacrifice prevalent in the hill tracts of Orissa.

15.3.6 Prohibition of child marriage

Attempts have been made by the States and reformers to do away by legislation with the evil of early marriage. In 1901, the Gaikwar of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act which fixed the minimum marriage age in the State, 12 for girls and for 16 boys. The Age of Consent Committee met at Simla in June 1928, to enquire into the question of marriage reforms. After its report appeared, Raj Saheb Harbilas Sarada's child Marriage Bill was passed in 1930. The Act evoked much opposition among the conservative sections of the people. Rigorous imprisonment and fines were imposed on those parents who repudiated the terms of the Sarada Act.

15.3.7 Emergence of Women

The spirit of reform profoundly modified Indian society, their ideas, habits and customs. The most striking change in Indian social life of today is in the position of women. Women are not only coming out of their purdah and receiving education but are also taking active interest ins social and political ways. In 1923, a Women's Indian Association, with many branches was started, and a Children's Home was opened in Madras. In 1924, a British Control League was founded at Bombay. The journal Navayuga (the New Age) offered its services of the cause of the movement. Muslim ladies were also attracted by the spirit of reform. The talented Indian poetess and the "Nightingale of India" Sarojini Naidu infused in them the spirit of reform and revival. The Dowagar Begam of Bhopal introduced many social and educational reforms for women in her state. Since 1926, the All India Women's Conference expressed its legitimate demands of the women for better facilities regarding education and abolition of social abuses. The Women's Suffrage Movement illustrated the growth of political consciousness among women Efforts were made to train Indian sisters to serve the poor, the sick and the distressed. Steps were taken to prevent polygamy from Indian Society, even though it was checked not in uncertain terms and ways. Pandit Nehru, with the earnest support of his advisers, took some drastic measures to prohibit prostitution in cities. regulate whores houses and prevent veneral diseases. He could not achieve a cent percent success in his measures; but could put some restriction on the social evils.

15.3.8 The Growth of Education

The Government took keen interest in the spread of primary education. The number of schools and colleges rapidly increased. Some of house were entirely financed by the Government, while others were managed by private bodies with or without a Government grant in aid. The Dispatch of 1854, continued to be the basis of educational policy for India. In 1882, a commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir William Hunter to revive education under the new policy. Its report was approved by the Government in 1884. It laid special emphasis on elementary education. In 1902, Lord Curzon appointed a University Commission to investigate the conditions and prospects of the Indian Universities. Lord Dalhousie had already laid the foundation of the three major Universities in India-Bombay (1857), Calcutta (1857) and Madras (1857). Its report came out in June 1904 and its recommendations were embodied in the Universities. In 1910, a Department of Education was established in the Government of India. Under its direction many Universities were founded throughout the length and breadth of India, thus the spread and growth of education in India was very rapid.

In 1870, the Archaeological Survey of India was started under Sir Alexander Cunningham, the First Director-General of Archaeology. In 1902, Sir John Marshall was appointed as Director General of Archaeology by Lord Curzon and in 1904, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act was passed, and an impetus was given to conservation and exploration. The historic cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, and cities like Taxila, Pataliputra, Nalanda and Nagar Junakonda were explored and the historic remains excavated. This revealed to the world the ancient culture of India.

15.3.9 Economic Upsurge

Reference has already been made to the economic condition of India during the 19th century. The Battle of Plassey (1757) was a great turning point in the economic history of India. There was a large economic drain. The East India Company had accumulated enormous sums of money from Indian princes. There was the export of bullion to China. The servants of the Company had also amassed for their fortunes. A substantial part of it had found its way to England. This heavy drain had greatly impoverished the provinces and crippled the purchasing power of Indian money. The servants of the Company were exempted from the payment of duties.

The Company had also enjoyed virtual monopoly over internal and external trade. Artificial restriction of imports by legislations gave a fillip to the cotton industry of England. The chief industry in India was the weaving of cotton, silk and wool. Cotton cloths and fine shawls manufactured all over India. The sugar and the infant jute industries of Bengal began to export large quantities of these commodities to foreign lands. Brass, copper and bell metal wares were manufactured in different parts of India. Jewellery, stone carving, ornaments, in gold, silver and artistic work in marble, sandalwood, ivory and glass formed other important industries. Ship-building industry developed in India in the 19th Century. The Government of India put some artificial restrictions on Indian industries only to encourage the British industries. Raw materials were exported from India and the Indians were to buy those finished goods imported from England at a high price. The British manufactured goods were saved from open competition by levying some export duties. Serve duties were imposed and collected from Indian finished products. Thus, in Indian markets the British goods

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Briefly explain the Ramakrishna mission.

4. What is called infanticide?

found their way whereas the Indian goods lost the widest circulation. These adversely affected the Indian prosperity of the Indians.

Important changes were introduced in the financial system of India by the Act of 1858, The Government of India exercised supreme authority over financial administration. The system of budget was introduced in 1860. From 1871 to 1877, the Government took some measure to rectify the constant friction between the local and Central Government. Certain amount of resources were distributed to the provinces. The Minto Morley Reforms (1909) did not bring any radical change in the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments, but the Mont-Fort Reforms (1919) made a distinct survey of their financial relations.

The Government levied tax on salt, opium and other daily necessaries. Land revenue, excise-duties, customs duties and stamp duties directly went to the Central Government. By 1882, all import duties were abolished. In 1884, a general import duty was reimposed. The Government levied income tax from 1860 onwards. It was abolished in 1865; but was revived in 1867 in the modified form of a license tax on traders and professions. This system was followed even during the 20th century with certain modifications.

In 1841, an attempt was made to re-introduce gold coins. But during 1850's, the price of gold fell deeply and the Government abandoned this experiment. In 1878, the government of India recommended to the Secretary of State the introduction of a gold currency in India, but the latter rejected the proposal. But in 1893 some alterations were effected in the Indian currency. In 1900, a Gold Reserve Standard was formed. Even this could not solve the problem of Indian Currency. In the 20th century, many changes were effected in the Indian currency.

The public opinion in England and India demanded a complete abolition of use of opium, hemp, and alcohol in India. The Government of India accumulated large sums from the monopoly of the opium trade. In China levied excise duty on opium, and for hemp in India. An agreement was made with China in 1907 for the gradual decrease and ultimate extinction of the opium trade. In India, the Government adopted a definite policy of restricting and controlling the use of intoxicants.

Lord Dolhousie was the pioneer in the construction of railway in India. private companies were encouraged to undertake this project on a guarantee given by the Government of India. Up to the end of the 19th Century, the Government suffered heavy losses. In course of time, the Government itself constructed and managed the railway line. Gradually the railways became, a source of income. In 1905, a Railways Board was created. But, during the First World War, there was a setback in the extension work. In 1919, a Committee was appointed by the Mont-Ford Reforms to investigate the working of the railways and recommend a suitable policy for further development. Later on the Government took under its direct management the East India Railway (1925), the Great Indian Peninsular Railway (1925), the Burma Railway (1929), and the Southern Punjab Railway (1930). The Railway Board was reorganized. The Central Publicity Bureau of the Railway Board was created in 1927.

The forests of India have always proved a valuable source of revenue. In 1864 a German expert was appointed as Inspector General of Forests. An Act was passed in 1865 for the production and efficient management of the Government forests. In 1878, a training school was established at Dehra Dum.

The formation of a definite system of famine relief was an important achievement of Indian administration. During the 19th century, famines occurred in different parts of India. Lord Lytton tried to formulate general principles of famine relief and appointed commissions. In 1883, the Government of India laid the basis of a Famine Code, Crores and crores were spent on famine relief, droughts and floods.

The famine Relief and Insurance Fund was actually a step forwards. Many commissions were constituted to recommend relief measures to the affected areas. The Government of India Act 1919, required the Provinces to contribute every year a definite sum for expenditure on famines. Under the 1935 constitution, famine relief expenditure became entirely a provincial charge.

The Government of India spent huge sums on the implementation of irrigation projects, construction of roads, canals and buildings and on the progress of agriculture. transportation and communication. On the whole, India progressed internally. Trade and industry flourished. Imports gradually decreased and exports slowly increased. Legislation of factories, regulation of mines, legislation of infant industries and implementation of scientific methods in agriculture gave a fillip to the economic prosperity of India. For internal development, the Indians owe a lot to the British and they in turn owe much for their prosperity to the Indians.

15.4 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Once the British established themselves in absolute power in India they turned their attention to ameliorative measures in the fields of agriculture, industry, transport, trade, etc. As in earlier, in the 18th Century, the Chief industry in India was the weaving of cotton, Silk and wool. Ahmedabad, Dacca, Lucknow, Madura and Nagpur were noted centres of the cotton industry. The Punjab and Kashmir were important for silk and woolen industries, Nasik, Poona, Tanjore etc, were famous for brass and coppervessels. The British policy of encouraging the British trade and industry at the coast India, the inability of the Government of India to protect Indian industries and the competition of cheap machine made goods dealt a death below to the indigenous handicrafts. The new fashions and taste introduced by the westerners made the Indian people as dependents on imports form foreign countries for almost every article of necessity.

The products of Indian handicrafts practically lost their market. In 1905, Lord Curzon started the Imperial Department of Industries and Commerce. But the British Government was suspicious and Morley, Secretary of State for India sent a dispatch to the Government of India discouraging a policy of encouraging industries.

Even from the ancient times the Indian textiles were wellknown in the markets of the world. The Mughal emperors patronized the small scale cotton industries. But after the fall of Mughal empire the textile industries lost much of their patronage but did not disapper entirely. The merchants of the East India Company advanced money and cotton to the weavers and obtained the textiles of high rare varieties for export and even compted successfully with British machine-based industries were introduced into India, during the 19th century.

The establishment of cotton mill in Bombay in 1854 marked the beginning of the cotton mill industry in India. Following this, mills were established at Ahmedabad, Scholapur, Nagpur, etc. In 1926 the government abolished the cotton excise duty as a relief masure. Encouragement was given to Indian handloom and Khadi, Woolen and silk mills were established in Punjab, Mysore and other places. In 1907, Tata iron and steel industry was formed. In 1908, at Hirabur, Indian-Iron and Steel Co., was established.

In 1923 and 1937, Mysore Iron and Steel works at Bhadravathi as and the Steel Corporation of Bengal were established, respectively Paper Mills were established at Lucknow, Calcutta and other places. Sugar, leather, chemicals, fertilizers, glass, cement tea, match and tobacco all played a vital role in the economic growth of the country.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Britain virtually possessed the monopoly of Indian trade, But in the twentieth century, Japan, Germany, and the U.S.A. entered the world market and their competition broke the British monopoly. So Britain, gave up her control over the Indian trade and industry. India's interests were given serious consideration by the government of India from the point of view of economy and income. The opening of Suez Canal also had increased the trade activities of India. The increase of transports and communications also caused for the growth of economy of India.

15.4.1 Famines

The economy of Indian subcontinent is always dependent on the punctuality of the monsoon. Famines brokeout in different parts of India due to failure of monsoon. In 1770. Bengal witnessed a severe famine. The famine of 1866-67 affected Orissa and the eastern coast. The great famine of 1876-78 affected the United Provinces, Bombay, Hyderabad, Madras and Madras regions.

Lord Lytton appointed a Famine Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Strachey. On the basis of the recommendations of the committee a Famine Code was formed in 1883. Famine Relief and Insurance Fund was set up by the Government. Following the famine of 1899-1900, Curzon provided relief by granting remission of land revenue. The salt duty was also reduced.

15.4.2 Irrigation

India is an agricultural country. The population of the country mainly depends on the agricultural products. Realizing the importance of agriculture the Muslim and Hindu rulers undertook many important irrigation projects out of state revenues. During the British regime Lord Lawrence began the policy of financing irrigation projects by public loans. In 1874 , Agra Canal, in 1878 the Lower Ganges Canal and in 1882 the Sirhuind Canal were cut. The Punjab irrigation canals were cut in the last decade of the 19th century. The Lower Chenab Canal irrigated the regions lying between Chenab and Ravi.

15.5 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

A close study of social change in India is a difficult task. A number of social changes were made in India during the British Raj. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the British, often with the support of enlightened Indian opinion, abolished such institutions as Sati (1829), female infanticide, human sacrifice and slavery (1833). The principle of equality found expression in the abolition of slavery, in the opening of the new schools and colleges in theory at least to all irrespective of religion, race and caste.

The British rule brought with it a process of secularization of Indian social life and culture, a tendency that gradually became stronger with the development of communications, growth of towns and cities, increased spatial mobility, and the spread of education. As a result of the spread of education among all sections of the populations, traditional ideas of purity are giving way to the rules of hygiene. Since Independence the aspiration of modern education has increased in all communities many states have also taken policy measures to curtail the element of communalism in education for reinforcing the policy of secularism.

Ritual is an another area which has been affected by the secularization process. Ceremonies such as name-giving, the first tonsure (Chaule) and the annual ritual of changing the sacred thread are beginning to be dropped. For girls, the attainment of puberty is no longer marked by the elaborate ritual that characterized in a few decades ago. The shaving of a Brahmin widow's head, as part of the funeral rite for her dead husband, has also largely disappeared, and among the educated, widow marriage is no longer strongly disapproved. Formerly marriages are to be celebrated for five or seven days, but now they have been reduced to an hour or so.

Another evidence of social development is the enormous importance assumed by the institution of dowry in the last few decades. In order to prevent the dowry the Indian parliament passed the Dowry prohibition Act in 1961. So far the act has not had much success in combating the institution. This in turn resulted in many girls of marriageable age not bale to get married in time. The sharp rise in the age of the marriage of girls enable them to take advantage of opportunities for higher education. Education changed the outlook of girls, and gave them new ideas and aspirations. It is a fact that, a large number of women are employed today in the cities as teachers, clerks, doctors, nurses, welfare workers and from the point of view of the traditional society, this is really revolutionary. The present day economic conditions warrant the womenfolk also to seek some employment in order to enhance the income of the family and the living standard.

The orthodox elements in Hindu society were put continuously on the defensive ever since the early-years of the nineteenth century when European missionaries began attack in Hinduism for its many ills and short comings. While the new Hindu elite deeply resented such attacks, they were themselves sufficiently westernized to be able to take critical view of their religion.

The development of the disciplines of comparative philology, archaeology, numismatics, and history provided a broad chronological frame work for Sanskrit literature, and free it from much myth and legend. The last few decades have seen the rising of prestige in technology, engineering, medicine and the sciences generally, while the other subject, the humanities in particular, have lost much of their prestige.

Caste has to-day become a major structural network of modernization in the Indian social system. It permitted some of the major structural forms, such as the local political bodies, voting behavior, and power structure at the village community. The laying of roads all over India, and the introduction of railroads, postage, telegraph, and cheap paper printing, especially in the regional languages enabled the castes to organize as they had never done before.

15.6 SARVODAYA MOVEMENT

'Sarvodaya' is a philosophy propounded and practiced by Gandhiji. According to him, in Sarvodaya everybody would get everything that they require through peaceful and non-violent means. In his own words, "All the members of society are equal, none high, none low. In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are all on the same level. This socialism is as pure as crystal. Therefore it requires crystal like means to achieve it. Impure means result in an impure end, Therefore only truthful, non-violent and pure hearted socialists will be able to establish a socialistic society in India and the world".

Gandhi arrived at this idea on reading the work "Unto the Lost" by John Ruskin. When he was in South Africa. Gandhi thought that GramaRajya should be the basis for the achievement of this Sarvodaya. In a GramaRajya everybody work according to his talents and receive the essentials that he requires. Like Utopian socialists, he visualized a society where in there will be on army, no police force, where men and women enjoy the same rights. In his view every individual has a ring moral pressure on the government by non-violence, and non-co-operation. He said the civil disobedience is the only and most successful remedy if democracy may be administered badly. So he justified civil disobedience in a democracy. Gandhi's life mission was to promote rural democracy in India, for the real life of

Check Your Progress Questions

5. Critically examine the sarvodaya movement, national movement and self-respect movement.

our nation vesting more powers with the local boards such as Panchayat boards, Panchayat union etc. is an outcome of the Sarvodaya enunciated by Gandhi.

Gandhi listed the evils of our age and held that truth and non-violence alone could set them right. He enumerated seven evils. The are 1. Politics without principles. 2. Wealth with out work 3. Pleasure without conscience. 4. Knowledge without character. 5. Commerce without morality 6. Science without humanity, and 7. Worship without sacrifice. The evils when analyzed to their roots are different forms of exploitation and use of violence.

The Gandhian philosophy of the charka, the bullock-cart and village life, still influences Indian thought, still a small has body of fervent adherents and still exalts from an unbelieving government of India, tribute in the form of large grants for Khadi and village industries. But its practical effect has so far been slight and will continue to dwindle. In that event the survivors; if any, whether in India or elsewhere might recall and revive the Gandhian philosophy.

Gandhiji chalked out a plan to meet the needs, urges and aspirations of the individual and of the society which is called Sarvodaya. It is compared to the Marxian views, it may be appropriate only with regard to the ultimate goal. But they differ in the means to achieve the same. While marx believed in violent measures Gandhiji did in the otherway.

15.7 RATIONALISM – AMBEDKAR

Born in 1891, Ambedkar had worked for the upliftment of the untouchables in India. He was the fourteenth child of his parents. Though his parents were economically poor, they were respected by the neighbours. He got his higher education from the Elphinston College. He took his doctoral degree at the Columbia University in 1916. After completing his education in law, he started his practice as advocate at the High Court of Bombay in 1924. That was the beginning of his public life. He started a fornightly "The Mooknayak" in 1919. Through his organization namely, "Bahiskit Hitkarini Sabha" he worked for the "moral and material progress of the untouchables". Through his journals and organizations he started preaching for social equality among the cast Hindus and the untouchables. His newspaper 'Samatas" started in 1929, also worked for the same.

Ambedkar himself led a non-violent action to establish the civil right of the untouchables. His satyagraha of 1930 to establish the right of the untouchables and to enter the temple of Kalaram at Nasik was notable one. When he was acting as the nominated member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly (1926'34) he introduced many bills for the benefit of the poor and the untouchables. Because of the opposition of the caste Hindus these bills were not passed.

During the Second Round Table Conference, Ambedkar demanded separate electorates for the untochables. But this was not accepted by Gandhiji. Gandhiji treated the untochables as an intergral part of the Hindu society and named them as 'Harijans'.

Ambedkar thought that within the Hindu Society the untouchables would never get recognition of social equality. So he became a Sikh in 1938. As his effort proved failure. he embraced Buddhism in 1956 and advised his followers to join with him. But the activities of Ambedkar did not change the conditions of the Harijans.

In 1942 he formed the Scheduled Castes Federation as an All India Political Party. Though he opposed the Indian National Congress, he was recognized as a national leader and was nominated by the Congress to the Constituent Assembly. He acted as law Minister in the Nehru cabinet. He was the chairman of the commission which framed the constitution of India. It was he who framed the Hindu Code Bill. In 1955, he founded the 'Bharatiya Buddha Mahasabha'.

He was the author of many books. He had a rich library. He himself treated the Caste Hindus as his formidable enemies. He opposed the demand of independence in order to protect the interests of the poor untouchables.

15.8 E.V. RAMASAMY NAICKAR

E.V. Ramasamy, popularly known as Tandhai Periyar was undoubtedly the most distinguished leader in the annals of the Dravidian Movement. When his school master certified that Ramasamy was unfit for school education, he engaged himself in business. Ever since his boyhood, Ramasamy had displayed an interest in the lot of the poor and Harijans.

After a long thinking in his mind, he gave away his faith in Hindusim and determined to devote himself to social reform. He introduced new methods and new techniques in the social reform.

He started his work first at Erode. Rajaji invited him to join the Congress Party. he made liberal conributions to the party funds. He led the Non-co-operation movement. In 1922 he was elected President of the Madras Congress Committee. He played a vital role in the Vaikkam Satyahraha, launched for the upliftment of the Harijans. He also fought against the suppression of the Non-Brahmins of the Congress run Gurukula at Sermadevi (near Tirunelveli). When the Brahmin members of the Congress opposed his activities, he resigned from the party membership.

Self-Respect Movement, launched by Periyar in 1924, was an earnest attempt to protect the interests of the poor and the untouchables. In 1937 he was behind the bars by the Congress elected president of the Justice Party. Justice Party was re-organised as Dravida Kazhagam. In 1949 some of his party men left the party and formed Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under the leadership of Annadurai.

He opposed the caste-based occupational education system of Rajaji. The victory of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in the public election of 1967 was really a success for the activities and policies of Periyar. He attacked the religious preachings, caste system, child marriage and widowhood. He called for the reform of Tamil language.

For the propagation of his message of rationalism, he staged dramas everywhere in the country, organized demonstrations and led agitations. The 'self respect marriage instituted by him was appreciated by everyone. Kudiyarasu, Puratchi, Viduthali etc, were his popular journals. The pious Hindus branded him anti-Brahmin. There can be no second thought in saying that he was one of the greatest social revolutionaries in India.

15.9 LET US SUM UP

This unit provides some details about the social reform movements and efforts towards the eradication of social evils. The socio-religious reawakening movement in India was a byproduct of modern western culture. According to Sri Aurobindo, "The renaissance in India is as inevitable as the rising of tomorrow's sun and the renaissance of a great nation of three hundred million with so peculiar a temperament, such unique traditions and ideas of life, so powerful an intelligence and so great a mass of potential energies cannot but be one of the most formidable phenomena of the world". The renaissance served in enriching the India in all fields of their lives. A number of reformers through their teachings tried to purity Indian society and religion by denouncing the corruption and superstitions. Socio-religious reawakening movement served as a powerful ferment creating urges among the Indians against the caste system. The social reform movement aiming at eliminating social injustices, contributed towards the building of the national unity of the Indian people. However, the momentum maintained its momentum and reached its peak during the second half of the 19th century.

15.10 KEY WORDS

Orthodox - believing in establishing Conservative ideas

Philology - Science of the structure and development of language

Regime - prevailing system of things

Ameliorate - make better

Notorious - known and talked of infamous

5.11 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer Section No. 15.2.1
For Question No.2	Refer Section No.15.2.2.-15.2.3
For Question No.3	Refer Section No.15.2.4
For Question No.4	Refer Section No.15.3.3
For Question No.5	Refer Section No.15.6-15.8

15.12 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READINGS

1. **C.H. Heimasath.,** - Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social reforms.
2. **B.R. Nanda.,** - Essays in Modern Indian History.
3. **Nurullah and Naik.,** - History of Education in India during the British Period.
4. **A.L. Srivastav.,** - History of Modern India
5. **L.P. Sharma.,** - History of Modern India.

15.13 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. The Nineteenth Century was a Period of religion and cultural Renaissance in India. Elucidate.
2. Give an account of Theosophical society.
3. What are the steps table by social reformers with the help of British reigns.
4. What were the economic and social development during the 19th and 20th centuries?

LESSON - 16

Space for Hints

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

INTRODUCTION

The English East India Company was essentially a commercial body and after 1757 it was in a privileged of position political power over a larger section of the population of India. The British Government thought to control the East India Company through constitutional law. British Parliament passed its first important Act in 1773 called Regulation Act. This act controlled the company's administration. This act was the first landmark in the constitutional development of India. Subsequently the charter Acts and India Councils Act further developed the constitution. Then 1909, 1919 and 1935 Acts were enacted towards the constitutional developments. After independence experts under Dr. Ambedkar framed the Indian constitution.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

a) Understand the growth of constitution.
b) Recognise the salient features of the constitution
c) Know about the sources of the constitution.
d) recognize the need for Amendment.

UNIT STRUCTURE

16.1 Development of the Constitution

16.2 Features of the Constitution

16.2.1 Longest known constitution
16.2.2 More flexible
16.2.3 A sovereign Democratic Republic
16.2.4 Socialist and Secular state
16.2.5 Single citizenship.
16.2.6 Promotion of International peace.
16.2.7 Fundamental Rights.
16.2.8 Directive Principles of state policy

16.2.9 Parliamentary system of Government.

16.2.10 Adult suffrage

16.2.11 Compromise between judicial review and parliamentary supremacy

16.2.12 Federal Structure

16.2.13 Emergency Provision.

16.2.14 Membership in the Common Wealth

16.3. Sources of the constitution

16.4. Amendment of the Constitution

16.5. Federalism

16.5.1Criticism

16.5.2 Distribution of Legislative Powers

16.6 Let us sum up

16.7 Key words

16.8 Answer for CYP Questions

16.9 Books for Further Reading.

16.10 Questions and Exercises

16.1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION :

For a brief study of the development of our constitution we need not go beyond 1858. It was in this year that the British Crown took over the administration of India from the East India Company. The Government of India Act, 1858 while bringing India under the direct rule of the British Government provided for absolute imperial control. There was no provision, under this Act, for the participation of Indians in the administration. According to this Act, the powers of the British Crown were exercised by the Secretary of State for India assisted by a council of fifteen members who were all Europeans. The Secretary of State for India governed the country through the Governor General assisted by an Executive Council. The Council was composed of high officials of the Government.

Some amount of popular element was introduced in the Government of India by the Indian Councils Act, 1861. Provision was made by this Act for the inclusion of certain non – official members in the Executive Council were while transacting business a Legislative Council. These members were to be nominated. Similar provisions were made by this Act for Legislative Council. These members were to be nominated. Similar provisions were made by this Act for Legislative Councils in the provinces. Even for initiating legislation in the Provincial Councils, prior sanction of the Governor – General was necessary.

The Indian Councils Act, 1892, provided certain improvements in the composition and powers of the Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils. Provision was made for the nomination of the Indian Legislative Council by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Provincial Councils. Non – official members of the Provincial Legislative Councils were to be nominated by local bodies like universities, district boards and municipalities. The Act empowered the Councils to discuss the budget and address questions to the Executive.

The Morely – Minto Reforms aimed at the introduction of representative and popular element in the administration of the country. These reforms were implemented by the Indian Councils Act, 1909. The size of the Provincial Legislative Councils was enlarged by including elected non-official members. Some members were to be elected even for the Indian Legislative Council. The Act empowered the Legislative Councils to influence the policy of administration by moving resolutions on any matter of public interest, except certain specified subjects. This Act, for the first time, provided for separate representation of the Muslim Community. This coincided with the formation of the Muslim League as a political party in 1906. The Government of India Act, 1935 merely consolidated the provisions of all the preceding of Government of India Acts, in one enactment.

The Montagu – Chelmsford Report led to the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1919. This Act introduced ‘Dyarchy’ or dual government. The Devolution Rules of this Act separated the subjects of administration into Central and Provincial. Subjects of all India importance were known as Central subjects. Provincial subjects related to administration of the Provinces were sub-divided into transferred and reserved. The transferred subjects were to be administered by the Governor with the aid of Ministers responsible to the Legislative Council. The reserved subjects were to be administrated by the Governor and his Executive Council. This Act relaxed Central control over the Provinces. The Provincial Legislatures were empowered to present their own budgets and levy their own taxes. A provincial bill could become law only if assented to by the Governor and the Governor General. The Governor could reserve a bill for the consideration of the Governor and the Governor General. At the Centre, the Governor - General - in - Council continued to be responsible to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State for India. This Act made the Indian legislature bicameral. The upper house, known as the Council of State, was composed of sixty members of whom thirty - four were elected. The lower house, known as the Legislative. Assembly, was composed of 144 members of whom 104 were elected. Both houses had, more or less, equal powers. The Legislative Assembly, was given exclusive power to vote supply. The electorates were arranged on a communal and sectional basis. The Governor General possessed over-riding powers in respect of Central legislation. The Reforms of 1919 were far from satisfactory to the people of India. This made the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi to spearhead a movement of non-co-operation to attain 'Swaraj' or self – government.

Consequent to the non co-operation movement, the British Government appointed in 1927 a statuary commission headed by Sir John Simon, to inquire into and report on the working of the Government of India Act, 1919. The Report of his commission, submitted in 1930, was examined by a Round Table Conference of the delegates of the British Government and of British India and of the Rulers of the Indian States. As a consequence of this Conference, he Government of India Act, 1935, was passed by the British Parliament.

The Government of India Act, 1935, prescribed separate electorates on the basis of the 'Communal Award'. It provided for separate representation for the Muslims, for the Sikhs, for the Europeans, for the Indian Christians, and for the Anglo-Indians. Though a federation was envisaged by this Act, it never came into being. The Provinces became autonomous units of the administration. Legislative powers were divided between the Central and Provincial Legislatures. The Governor of a Province exercised the executive authority on behalf of the Crown. He was required to act with the advice of Ministers responsible to the Legislature. The Central Government continued to have control over the Provinces. The Governor – General was to act on the advice of a 'Council of Ministers' responsible to the Legislature and with the help of Councilors appointed by him. Neither of these were appointed and the old Executive Council continued to advise the Governor General. These conditions continued till the enactment of the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

When the Government of India Act, 1935, failed to satisfy Indian aspirations, the demand for a Constitution made by the people of India became intense. The demand for a Constituent Assembly was reiterated. The British

Government resisted this demand until the outbreak of the Second World War. In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British Cabinet was sent to India with a draft declaration of proposals. These was to be adopted at the end of the War, provided the Congress and the Muslim League agreed to accept them. Both parties failed to come to an agreement and the proposals of Cripps were rejected. All attempts to reconcile the Congress and the Muslim League failed. Consequently, the Cabinet Mission put forward its own proposals in May 1946. In the election held to elect members of the Constituent Assembly, both parties contested. But when the Assembly first met on December 9, 1946, the Muslim Leaguers did not attend.

The Muslim League pressed for another Constituent Assembly for 'Muslim India' Lord Mountbatten the Governor – General, announced on July 26, 1947, the setting up of a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan. In July 1947, the British Parliament, with amazing speed, passed the Indian Independence Act, 1947. The Bill, introduced in Parliament on July 4, received Royal Assent on July 18, 1947.

The Indian Independence Act (1947) did not provide for a constitution for India. The Act said that in place of India two independent Dominions known as India and Pakistan would be set up. The Constituent Assembly to each Dominion was to frame a constitution for the respective Dominion. The Constituent Assembly, which first met on December 9, 1946, reassembled on August 14, 1947, as the Constituent Assembly for the Dominion of India. Due to the partition of India fresh elections to the Constituent Assembly had to be conducted in West Bengal and East Punjab. After this the membership of the Constituent Assembly stood at 299.

The Union Constitution Committee, the Union Powers Committee and the Committee on Fundamental Rights constituted by the Constituent Assembly, outlined the salient principles of the proposed constitution. After a general debate on the reports of these committees a Drafting Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr.Ambedkar was set up by the Constituent Assembly on August 29, 1947. The 'Draft Constitution of India' prepared by the Drafting Committee was, after necessary amendments, finally approved by the Constituent Assembly on November 26, 1949. Provisions relating to citizenship, elections, provisional

Parliament and temporary and into force on January 26, 1950. This date is generally considered as the date of commencement of the constitution.

16.2 FEATURES OF THE CONSTITUTION

16.2.1 Longest known Constitution :

The Constitution of India is the longest known constitution. The original constitution contained 395 articles and eight schedules. As years rolled by the length of the constitution was increased due to subsequent amendments. The constitution as amended by the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act (1976) contained 395 Articles divided into 22 parts and to Schedules. The succeeding Governments introduced a few more amendments. The length of the constitution is due to several reasons. Firstly, it incorporates the accumulated experience of different constitutions. Secondly, detailed administrative provisions have been included. As a matter of fact, most of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, have been adopted by the constitution. Thirdly, the constitution has provided for the solution of the peculiar problems faced by the country. These relate to separate provisions made for the scheduled castes, tribes, backward classes, Jummu & Kashmir, languages etc. Fourthly, the constitution of the units also is included in the constitution. Fifthly, there are elaborate provisions dealing with the Federation and the Units. Finally, the length of the constitution is also due to the inclusion of Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy. Amendments have also considerably added to the bulk of the Constitution.

16.2.2 More Flexible than Rigid :

The Constitution of India is more flexible than rigid. It is uncommon to see a federal constitution flexible. Ratification by the State Legislatures is needed for the amendment of a few provisions only. The rest of the constitution may be amended by a special majority of the Union Parliament with a simple majority. These "shall not be deemed to be 'amendments' of the Constitution". The flexibility of the constitution is also due to the fact that the constitution itself has given power to Parliament to supplement the provisions of the constitution by legislation. Professor K.C. Where observes, "this variety in the amending process is wise but is rarely found".

16.2.3 A Sovereign Democratic Republic

The preamble to the original declares India to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It means that India is a sovereign state subject to no other authority either in her internal affairs of external relations and transactions. India is a Democratic Republic. Democracy implies that the government is run by the people i.e. by the representatives of the people elected by them on the basis of universal franchise. This principle is the foundation of the system of government the constitution establishes both at the Centre and in the States. Further, democracy implies the maintenance and preservation of the fundamental rights (Part III) and their adequate protection by means of constitutional remedies.

By the word Republic it is indicated that democratic form of Government obtained not under a hereditary monarchy (as is the case with Britain), but one which "derives its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people and is administered by persons holding the offices during pleasure for a limited period or during good behavior…"

16.2.4 Socialist and Secular State :

The 42nd Amendment Act has introduced two more words "Socialist" and "Secular" in the preamble. To give substance and meaning to the word Socialist, Part IV (Directive Principles of State Policy) containing guidelines for socialistic legislation has been given precedence over part III (Fundamental Rights). Critics have pointed out that the inclusion of the word "Socialist" in the Preamble has set a rigid policy frame for future governments and is in some way redundant since the Directive Principles have already provided the necessary guidelines for humanitarian and socialistic legislation as and when the need arises. In the same way the crities have pointed out that since Articles. 25-29 recognize the right to freedom of faith and religion the inclusion of the word "Secular" in the preamble is unnecessary.

16.2.5 Single Citizenship :

The Constitution of India like the Canadian Constitution, but unlike the Constitution of the United States, provides for single citizenship only.

16.2.6 Promotion of International Peace :

Article 51 extends the noble ideals such as Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity found in the preamble, to the international sphere and proclaims the spirit of universal brotherhood and international peace.

16.2.7 Fundamental Rights :

Part III of the Constitution contains an exhaustive list of Fundamental Rights. These rights are justifiable and Constitutional remedies are provided for their enforcement. Thus the Judiciary has been made the guardian of the rights and liberties of the people.

16.2.8 Directive Principles of State Policy :

Another distinctive feature of the constitution is that is contains Directive Principles of State Policy. These principles are positive in character and direct the State to apply these in making law. Though the original constitution did not make them 'justifiable' yet declared them to be "Fundamental in the governance of the Country". The 42nd Amendment has established the precedence of these principles over the Fundamental Rights.

16.2.9 Parliamentary system of Government :

The President of India is a Constitutional Head. The real executive is the Council of Ministers. The Parliament consists of two chambers – Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The former is a popular chamber, its members being directly elected by voters in the States. The members of the Rajya Sabha are indirectly elected. (Twelve of its members are appointed by the President to represent various socio – cultural excellence). The ultimate legislative and financial control rests with the Parliament to which the real executive is responsible.

16.2.10 Adult Suffrage

The constitution grants universal adult suffrage. All adult men and women, without qualification of any kind, are eligible to caste votes. The constitution has also done away with communal reservation of seats and communal representation. The voting age now is 18.

16.2.11 Compromise between Judicial Review and Parliamentary Supremacy

Another notable feature of the Constitution is the compromise between judicial review and parliamentary supremacy. The via media between the American system of Judicial supremacy and the English principle of Parliamentary supremacy has been adopted by the Constitution of India. The Judiciary is not supreme in India for"… the fact remains that the Legislature must be supreme and must not be interfered with by the Courts of Law in such measures as social reform. This observation of Jawaharlal Nehru illustrates this fact.

16.2.12 Federal Structure :

Another feature of the Constitution of India is that it has a federal system with a unitary bias. Though India is a federation, it could transform itself into a unitary state during emergencies. It is federal in form, but unitary in spirit.

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Write a short note on development of the constitution?

2. Critically evaluate the salient features of the constitution.

The Constitution significantly avoids the use of the term "Federation" and uses only the term "Union".

16.2.13 Emergency Provisions :

Part XVIII of the Constitution provides for dealing with situations caused by internal and external emergency. The union Executive in such situations can have enormous powers with respect to the rights of the individual as well as the States. Such provisions are rare in modern constitutions.

16.2.14 Membership in the Commonwealth :

India's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations was agreed to at the Prime Minister's Conference in London in 1949. The Declaration of the Conference was ratified by the Constituent Assembly of India. Thought there is no mention of it in the Constitution of India, it must be noted that the conception of the Commonwealth itself has undergone a change owing to India's decision to adhere to the Commonwealth without acknowledging allegiance to the Crown, which was the symbol of unity of the old British Empire and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

16.3 SOURCES OF THE CONSTITUTION :

The chief sources of the Constitution of India are the Government of India Act, 1935, the British Constitution, and the American Constitution. Three – fourths of the Constitution are based on the Government of India Act, 1935. The distribution and the states are modelled after similar provisions. In the Government of India Act, 1935. The Cabinet system of Government, the Parliamentary type of democracy, the role of the Chief Executive, the Conventions of the Constitution, and the privileges and immunities of the members of Parliament are similar to those found in the British Constitution. The chapter of Fundamental Rights, the federal set up and provision for a Supreme Court of India, were inspired by the American Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy have been borrowed from the Constitutions of the Irish Republic. The Indian federal set – up has also been influenced by the Constitution of Canada. The provisions relating to emergencies were borrowed from the Constitution of the German Reich. Recently part IV has been added by the 42nd Amendment Act listing Fundamental Duties. Such a list, it is significant to note, is found in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

It is true that the Constitution of India has been prepared after ransacking all the known constitutions of the world. The makers of the Constitution of India tried to incorporate in this constitution all those that were good and suitable in others.

16.4 AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION :

The Amendment of federal constitution is either done by a body other than the ordinary legislature or a special procedure is prescribed for such amendment. Our constitution is not so rigid as other federal constitutions. It contains elements of flexibility as far as its process of amendment is concerned. An easier method has been prescribed to amend those provisions of the constitution which do not affect the federal system.

The method of amending the Constitution of India is prescribed in Article 368. To amend the Constitution of India, a bill for that purpose must be initiated in either House of Parliament. When such a bill has been passed in each House by a majority of the total membership of the House and by a majority of not less than two-third of the members of that House present and amended according to the provisions of the bill. If an amendment seeks to change any of the following provisions, it must be ratified by the Legislatures of not less than one-half of States. Resolutions ratifying the amendment bill must be passed by the Legislatures before the bill is presented to the President for his assent. The following are the provisions whose amendment requires ratification by the State Legislatures.

1. The manner of election of the President (Articles (54 & 55)
2. Extent of the executive power of the Union and the States (Articles 73 and 162) ;
3. The Supreme Court and the High Courts (Article 241 Chapter IV of Part V and Chapter V of Part VI);
4. Distribution of legislative powers between the Union and the States (Chapter I of Part XI);
5. Any of the Lists in the Seventh Schedule;
6. Representation of the States in Parliament (Articles 80 and 81 and the Fourth Schedule); and
7. Provisions of Article 368

Certain provisions of our constitution may be changed by the Union Parliament by a simple majority. Such changes are 'not to be deemed as amendments'. Creation of new States or reconstitutions of existing States, creation or abolition of Upper Chambers in the States and administration of Scheduled

Check Your Progress Questions

3. What are the sources of the constitution?

4. Write a brief account of the Amendment of the

Areas and Scheduled Tribes come under this provision. The procedure for the amendment of the constitution is both rigid and flexible. The procedure is not so complicate as the one found in the U.S.Constitution. "The State Legislatures in India cannot initate any bill or proposal for the amendment of Constitution". The Union Parliament alone could initiate amendments. Prior approval of the President is not required to the introduce a bill for amendment in Parliament.

Until the case of Golaknath, the Supreme Court of India had been holding that any part of the constitution could be amended by Parliament in compliance with the provisions of Article 368. In Golaknath's case a majority of six judges of a Special Bench of eleven ruled that part III of the constitution, by its very nature, is not subject to the process of amendment prescribed in Article 368. This decision was reversed by the Supreme Court in 1973 when it ruled that Parliament could amend any part of the Constitution according to the provisions of Article 368 without changing the content of the constitution.

The 42nd Amendment has laid down, that there are no limitations whatever to the power conferred by Article 368 to say that a Constitution Amendment Act shall be immune from judicial review altogether whether on substansive or procedural grounds. Thus as far as the amending power is concerned, the Union Parliament is supreme except that in some cases the assent of not less than half of the state legislature is necessary. The Janata Government has initiated changes in Articles 368 with a view to restore it from the effects of the 2nd Amendment.

16.5 FEDERALISM

Though the Constitution is federal in structure, India is according to the Constitution, a Union of States. The Indian federation was not created by an agreement by the units. The component units in the Indian federation have no freedom to secede from it. Dr.Ambedkar claimed that India is a federation. A number of foreign scholars have questioned the claim. The answer to the question whether a State is federal or unitary depends upon the number and nature of federal features it possesses.

Political Scientists are of the opinion that a federal government should have the following features. 1. Dual government.

2. Division of Legislative powers between the Centre and the units
3. Supremacy of the constitution, and 4. Independent Judiciary

Though the Indian federation contains all the above given features, differs from other federations in certain fundamental respects. The American federation was formed by a voluntary agreement between a number of sovereign and independent States. In Canada, the British Parliament created autonomous units and combined them into a federation by one and the same Act. India had a fully centralized unitary constitution till the Government of India Act was passed in 1935. By this Act the British Parliament set up a federal system as it did in Canada. Basu says, "some amount of homogeneity of the federating units is a condition for their desire to form a federal union".

This was not to be seen in India. There was nothing common between the Indian States and the Provinces. The makers of the Indian Constitution placed the Indian States on the same footing as the other units of the federation. In the United States, before the formation of the federation, the States had a sovereign and independent existence, and they gave up the needed amount of their sovereignty only. Hence, the Constitution of the United States contains a number of safeguards for the protection of "State rights". There was no need for this provision in the Indian Constitution because in India the States were not sovereign before the creation of the federation.

The American Constitution reserves the residuary powers to the States. In India they are assigned to the Union. The Indian Constitution has followed the Canadian system in this regard. In the United States, the Constitution of the national government alone has been drawn up. The States have been allowed to maintain their original Constitutions. In India the Constitutions of the States also have been incorporated into the Constitution of India. The State of Jammu and Kashmir alone has the right to determine its own constitution without affecting the main constitution.

In India the States have a minor part in amending the Constitution. In the United States no part of the Constitution could be amended without the concurrence of a required number of States. The principles is found to operate in other federal systems also. The Union Government in India has control over the administration and legislation of the States.

A State legislation could be disallowed by the President when reserved by the Governor. The Governor of a State is appointed by President and holds office during the pleasure of the latter. These ideas are to be found in the Canadian Constitution also.

The American federation is "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States". In other words, the federation cannot be destroyed by any seceding from it and the federal government cannot from new States or alter the boundaries of existing States without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned. Though the same principle is found in the Australian Constitution, it goes a step further by prescribing that popular referendum should be conducted in the affected State before altering its boundaries. In India it is not possible for the States to secede from the Union. According to the Sixteenth Amendment (1963), the advocacy of secession is punishable. The Indian Constitution empowers the Union Parliament to reorganize or alter the boundaries of the States by a simple majority. Consent of the legislatures of the States concerned is not necessary. The President may ascertain the view of the legislature of the affected State. In the Indian federation the State are not indestructible.

The theory of equality of State rights is absent in the Indian Constitution. Equality of State rights is an important principle of American federalism. In the United States equal representation is given to all States in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. The American Constitution also says that no State may be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate without its consent. In India there is no equality of representation for the States in the Council of States (Rajya Sabha). The Council of States cannot also be described as a federal chamber because it has twelve nominated members.

The framers of the American constitution have created a dual polity with a dual citizenship, a double set of officials and a double system of courts. This has been done to reconcile national unity with State rights. An American Citizen is a citizen of the State in which he resides and also of the United States. But the Indian Constitution, similar to the Canadian one, has one citizenship only. In the United States separate officials administer the laws and functions of the federal and State Governments. No such separation is to be found in India. Bifurcation of the judiciary, as found in the United States, is not be seen in India.

In India we have an integrated machinery for elections, accounts and audit. There is provision in the Indian Constitution for the Union Government to entrust its executive functions to a State and vice versa. During emergencies the federal Government in India could become a unitary one. Even under normal circumstances the federal Government has exclusive legislative the executive and legislative powers, can issue directions to State Governments and the President could withdraw to the Union the executive and legislative powers of a State. In India the Union has coercive powers against the units of the federation.

16.5.1 Criticism :

Professor K.C. Wheare says that the Indian Constitution provides "a system of Government which is quasi – federal.. a Unitary State with subsidiary federal features rather than a Federal State with subsidiary federal features". Basu is of the opinion that, "the Constitution of India is neither purely federal nor purely unitary but is a combination of both".

The actual working of the Constitution for the last forty seven years has shown that its federal features have not totally vanished. It is true that it has become more unitary. Thiru, Santhanam observes, "India has practically functioned as a Unitary State though the Union and the States have tried to function formally and legally as a federation". It is felt that due to the large financial powers of the Union Government and due to the importance of the Union Planning Commission, the Indian Constitution has become more unitary. This view cannot be accepted because even in true federations like the United States these factors have strengthened the Federal Government. Another noteworthy point is that in India the States have autonomy in the implementation of the plans. "In spite of federalism, the national interest cught to be paramount". The observation of Sir. Ivor Jennings is enshrined in the Constitution of India.

16.5.2 Distribution of Legislative Powers :

Distribution of legislative powers between the federation and the units is a cardinal principle of federalism. The Constitution of India adopts a three-fold distribution of legislative powers. In the United States and Australia only the powers of the Federal Legislature are enumerated. In Canada there is a double enumeration of powers. The Constitution of India has adopted a three hold enumeration of Powers introduced by the Government of India Act, 1935.

List I, or the Union List contains 97 items over which the Union shall have exclusive power on legislation defense, foreign affairs, banking, currency and coinage, Union duties and taxes etc. List II, or the State List contains 66 items over which the State Legislature shall have exclusive power on legislation, public order and police, local government, public health and sanitation, fisheries, State taxes and duties etc. Concurrent powers are given to the Union and State Legislatures by List III. This list includes 47 items. Criminal Law and procedure, marriage, contracts, torts, trusts, welfare of labour insurance, economic and social planning etc, come under this list. The subjects, Forests and Education have been transferred from State List to the Concurrent List by the 42nd Amendment Act. As

Check Your Progress Questions

5. Explain - federalism.

in Canada. The residuary power are given to the Union in India. In case of overlapping between the three lists, predominance has been given to the Union Legislature. If there is repugnancy between a Union and State law enacted on the same subject from the concurrent list, the Union Law prevails.

16.6 LET US SUM UP

This unit attempts to provide some details about India's constitution. It gives some special features to the people. The Constitution also includes a list of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles, the first, a guarantee against encroachment by the state and the second, a set of directives to the state to introduce reforms to make those rights effective. The basic aims and objectives of the new state of India find their expression in the objectives resolution approved by the constituent Assembly on January 22, 1947, and it laid the foundation of the constitutional structure. The rest of the constitution came into force on January 26, 1950. This date is generally considered as the date of commencement of the constitution. It must be mentioned that Dr. Ambdekhar, was the father of our Indian constitution.

16.7 KEY WORDS

Preamble	-	Introductory part
Redundant	-	superfluous
Exhaustive	-	comprehensive
Ransack	-	Search the recesses of
Federalism	-	united, but independent in internal affairs

16.8 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer section No.16.1
For Question No.2	Refer section No.16.2
For Question No.3	Refer section No.16.3
For Question No.4	Refer section No.16.4
For Question No.5	Refer section No.16.5

16.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1.	**A. Chatterjee.,**	-	The Constitutional Development of India.
2.	**K.P. Jayaswal.,**	-	History of India.
3.	**B.D. Keith.,**	-	Constitutional History of India.
4.	**Prasad, Ishwari.,**	-	History of India
5.	**S. Sarkar.,**	-	Modern India.

16.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Give an out line of the salient features of the Indian Constitution.
2. "The Constitution of India is quasi–federal, not strictly federal" – Discuss.
3. Indicate the various sources of the Indian Constitution.

LESSON - 17

ELECTIONS IN INDIA, PLANNED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STATE RE-ORGANISATION IN 1956

INTRODUCTION

In a country with federal setup, the term 'state' is used to denote both the federation as a whole and its constituents units as in India and the United States. The Ancient Greeks used the word polis, which Corresponded with the English word "City". This is understandable because during their time there were only 'City States' and not States of modern size and dimensions. The Teutons, during the Roman period used another word Status from which the modern word 'state' is derived. However, in modern times the term 'state' was first used by the Italian political thinker, Machiavelli, in his book The Prince (1512). Since then this term has gained in popularity and usage.

Be it a city State like Athens or Sparta of the ancient Greece, or a State of the present day nation with vast area and greater population, the self – governance of the 'state' does require the election of its governing body. In India we have a federal setup, with Assemblies as the governing body for the nation as a whole. The people's representatives for the governing bodies are to be elected directly or otherwise through elections.

India's great economic wealth has been the subject of history and fable during the ages past. It is, even to-day, very rich in material and human resources. At the time of Independence in 1947, it inherited a war-shattered economy from the British. The partition of India, with its mass migrations, violence and destruction further crippled it. Thus, two centuries of colonial exploitation, the consequences of the Second World War and the problems arising for partition had left the economy week and unbalanced. Several millions of people were totally unemployed. The average per capita annual income was only Rs. 230. Illiteracy was rampant and hardly 16 percent of the people could read or sign their names while a mere 15 percent of the children were at schools.

Such colossal problems demanded a systematic and planned solution over a long period, so, shortly after attaining Independence the Union Government of India set up, in 1950 a Planning Commission to chalk out plans of national development with popular participation.

India's economy to-day is in the process of fast development. The states as well as private entrepreneurs take their parts in the economy. The state's role in this sphere has grown steadily and is further expanding at an increasing pace. Basic and heavy industries are mostly in the State sector. Besides large scale industries, there are millions of farmers, craftsman, traders and small business men in the private industries. The state also encourages the co-operative sector which has seen a spectacular growth in recent years.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

- know about the Indian Democracy.
- Understand the Electoral System in India.
- evaluate the planned Economic Development
- Analyse the state reorganization in 1956.

UNIT STRUCTURE

17.1 The Electoral system
  17.1.1 Public Opinion and Legislative Majority
  17.1.2 Money power.
17.2 General Elections.
  17.2.1 Lok Sabha Elections
  17.2.2 Second General Election in 1957
  17.2.3 Third General Election in 1962
  17.2.4 Fourth General Election in 1967.
  17.2.5 Fifth General Election 1971
17.3 State Elections
  17.3.1 General Elections and Mid-term Elections.
  17.3.2 The 1967 General Election in Tamil Nadu.
17.4 Planning in India
  17.4.1 Twenty Point Programme
17.5 States Reorganization
  17.5.1 Appointment of state Reorganization commission
  17.5.2 State Reorganisation Act, July 1956
  17.5.3 Emergence of the New States of Maharashtra and Gujarat
  17.5.4 Liberation of the French Colonies in India.
  17.5.5 Inclusion of Goa, Doman and Diu.

17.5.6 Formation of Nagland.
17.5.7 Creation of Haryana.
17.5.8 Inclusion of Himachal Pradesh.
17.6 Foreign Policy of India.
17.7 India and the United Nations.
17.8 Let us sum up.
17.9 Key words
17.10 Answer for CYP Questions
17.11 Books for Further Reading
17.12 Questions and Exercises.

17.1 THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM :

Elections in India are regulated by the Representatives of People Act. The provisions of this Act and the working of the electoral system, generally, have been under the political parties for some time now. A political leader spelt out the main defects of the electoral system. According to him the Indian electoral system was defective on two counts. The first was that candidates and parties for that matter, who collected only a minor percentage of the total votes, managed to win the elections. The second was that money had become the denominating factor in elections.

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India's economy to-day is in the process of fast development. The states as well as private entrepreneurs take their parts in the economy. The state's role in this sphere has grown steadily and is further expanding at an increasing pace. Basic and heavy industries are mostly in the State sector. Besides large scale industries, there are millions of farmers, craftsman, traders and small business men in the private industries. The state also encourages the co-operative sector which has seen a spectacular growth in recent years.

17.1.1 Public Opinion and Legislative Majority :

It is rather strange that a party which gets less than fifty percent of the total votes, should get more than 60 percent majority in the legislature. Yet, that is what has consistently happened in India. Thus while the Congress Party secured only 44.9 percent of the total vote in 1952, it came out with a 74.5 percent majority in the Lok Sabha. This experience was repeated in the 1957 elections and again in 1962 and 1967 in 1971, under the leadership of Indira Gandhi the Congress came out with a steam –rollar majority of 350 elective seats out of 518 in the Lok Sabha. Even then the ratio of total votes polled to the total seats secured, showed no radical change. A system of this type does not reflect the opinion of the people. On the other hand, the system distorts the entire picture, by elevating a majority public opinion as a massive public mandate for the party.

17.1.2 Money Power :

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer of the Supreme Court observed, “Money power casts a sinister shadow on our elections”. It affects the elections in many ways. The cost of election propaganda for a State Assembly seat is forbidding enough for a candidate with average means. A parliamentary Constituency made up of several State Assembly constituencies calls for much greater financial commitment, which only a millionaire can tackle.

17.2 GENERAL ELECTIONS

The General Elections to the national Parliament and State Assemblies were held simultaneously till 1970. This was advantageous to the parties. Besides, the poll expenses of the Government were also cut down to the minimum. In 1971 this policy was given up. The national and state elections were de-linked and held separately. Although no explanation has been offered for this departure in policy, it was probably the clash of interests between national parties that prompted this change.

17.2.1 Lok Sabha Elections

The first general election was held in 1952. Fifty one parties contested the Lok Sabha elections, out of which 21 entered the First Parliament. The Congress

Party with a 74.5 percent majority in the Lok Sabha secured only 44.99 percent of the total valid votes.

17.2.2 Second General Election in 1957

At the second general election, the Congress Party secured 371 out of 494 elective seats in the Lok Sabha (74.5 per cent) and improved its poll percentage from 44.99 in 1952 to 47.78 in 1957.

17.2.3 Third General Election in 1962

The results of the third general election showed very little departure from the pattern set in the earlier two elections. Out of 494 parliamentary seats, the Congress won 361. The Congress secured a 72.9 percent majority in the Lok Sabha on a minority vote of 44.73 percent. This was lower than 1957 percentage.

17.2.4 Fourth General Election in 1967

At the fourth general election, the performance of the Congress Party, was comparatively poor. It secured only 283 seats out of 520. This time the Congress had a 54.42 percent majority in the Lok Sabha with a 40.82 percentage of total votes polled. The Janata Sangh came next with 9.29 percent followed by Swatantra 8.54, C.P.I-49 and C.P.M. -4.4 percent strength in the House.

17.2.5 Fifth General Election 1971

This was a mid-term election, the Lok Sabha having been dissolved on December 27, 1971, one year and two months before the expiry of the full period. The results of the elections started the election pundits and political prophets. The Ruling Congress under Indira Gandhi, swept the polls and came out with a massive majority of 350 out of 518 elective seats in the Lok Sabha.

17.3 STATE ELECTIONS

The normal term of State Legislature is five years from the date of appointment for its first meeting. Election to every Legislative Assembly is direct and on the basis of adult suffrage.

17.3.1 General Elections and Mid-term Elections

The general elections to the State Assemblies, since independence, present a confused picture primarily because new states and territories have been created and many territorial adjustments among the old and the new have been made. As early as 1953, Andhra Pradesh was reorganization of States in November 1956. The number of States with independent legislature was reduced from 24 to 14. Next, the state of Bombay was bifurcated in May, 1960 into Maharshtra and Gujarat. The latest reorganization has come about as a result of the North Eastern

Check Your Progress Questions

1. Write a short note an Electoral System in India
2. Explain the General and State Elections.

areas (reorganization) Act of 1971. The north eastern region of the country, now has five states, namely Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura and two union Territories, namely Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.

Territorial reorganization has led to consequential changes on the election scene. The Composition of State Legislative Assemblies has altered, delimitation of assembly constituencies has been done afresh, or re-adjusted wherever necessary and orders relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been modified. Besides, mid-term elections in various States have added their own confusion. These elections come at odd times upsetting the statutory pattern of general elections. Between the first general election in 1951-52 and the fifth general election in 1952, there have been as many as 20 mid-term elections in different States.

17.3.2 The 1967 General Election in Tamil Nadu

The 1967 general election for the Legislative Assembly in Tamil Nadu resulted in a sweeping away of the Congress Party from power and an Alliance of opposition parties came out successful. The DMK Party secured and absolute majority and a new government with C.N. Annadurai as the Chief Minister was formed. Since then the Congress Party cannot come back to the power. Her very existence in Tamil Nadu depends upon her alliance with one or other of the regional parties in Tamil Nadu.

17.4 PLANNING IN INDIA

In march 1950, the Government of India set up the Planning Commission to formulate economic plans for the country as a whole.

The **First Five Year Plan** aimed at strengthening the economy at the base and therefore, laid stress on agricultural development and multi purpose river valley projects. It also initiated some basic governmental policies which sought to bring about social change and institutional forms. The public sector outlay in this plan was Rs. 1930 crores and the private sector investment amounted to Rs. 1800 crores. During this plan period income increased by about 18 percent and percapita income by about 11 percent. Food production increased be 20 percent and Industrial production increased by about 40 percent. In short, the first plan was a tremendous success.

The **Second Five Year Plan** covered the period between 1956 and 1961. The public sector outlay in this plan was Rs.4,600 crores, and the private sector investment amounted to Rs.3,100 crores. Industries, transport and communications were given top priority in this plan. 48 percent of the public sector outlay was allocated for these purposes. During this plan period national income increased by about 8 percent. Food production increased by about 18 percent. Industrial production increased by about 40 percent. During this plan period three new steel plants at Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur were set up. The second plan was a moderate success.

Over the period of the first two plans the national income was estimated to have increases by 42 percent. The increase in per capita income was only about 16 percent which was due to a rapid population growth of 21 percent. Agricultural production increased by 41 percent and industrial production by 94 percent. Many new industries, some of them basic ones, were started during this period. The area of irrigated land increased by more than one third. A note worthy features of the decade was the organized development of small scale industries in various parts of the country. A ship building industry was set up during this period and shipping tonnage was more than doubled. Communication facilities were also expanded considerable. The number of post offices and of telephones in use was more than doubled.

The Third Five Year Plan covered the period between 1961 and 1966. The public sector outlay in this plan was Rs. 8,577 crores and the private sector investment amounted to Rs. 4900 crores. Industries, transport and communication were given importance in the first four years by 20 percent. This plan was essentially an attempt to creat a self-sustaining economy for India. Internal resources, having been strained to the utmost, the plan had relay on heavy foreign aid. But reliance on foreign aid was approved in the immediate future so as to avoid foreign aid in the distant future. Agriculture played a devastating role with production remaining indifferent in the first three years and precipitately falling in the last two, mainly on account of drought. The Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 aggravated an already difficult situation. This led to a large scale imports of food grains and other agricultural commodities, a greater dependence on foreign aid and to a large deficit increase financing. On the face of rising food and other imports and insufficient increase in exports the situation worsened, the country sought larger foreign assistance. In 1965 two bad harvests further aggravate an already difficult situation. In order to meet the defence expenditure and other elements of non-plan expenditure, a bold effort at raising taxes was made during some years of the Third Plan and in particular in 1963-1964. The larger commitments of non-plan expenditure and the rising costs of investment could not however, be fully met by domestic resource mobilsation. In short, inflationary pressures were generated, affecting domestic savings and eroding resources for financing development. A growing trade deficit and mounting debt obligations, led to more and more borrowings from the International Monetary Fund. The rupee was devalued in June 1966, but it did not serve the purpose. The Third Plan had got struck up.

During the last year of the Third Five Year Plan, India had to face several difficulties. So the Government postponed the Fourth Five Year Plan. There was a plan holiday for three years. During this period three one year plans were implemented. The short-fall lie the Annual Plans was made up by deficit financing which added up to Rs.682 crores during the three annual plans Rs. 189 crores (1966-67), Rs. 224 crores (1967-68 and Rs. 299 crores (1968-69).

The **Fourth Five Year Plan** covered the period between 1969 and 1974. The principal aim of the Fourth Plan was to generate a rapid increase in the national product without impairing social stability. The main purpose of the Fourth plan, therefore, was to avoid inflation, improve consumption standards and attain a more equitable distribution of income and wealth, faster development of human resources and quicker progress towards self-reliance. The total outlay on the Fourth Plan has been envisaged at Rs,24,882 crores. In the sphere of education the main aim of the Fourth Plan was to provide free and universal primary education and to prove and accelerate the place of girl's education. Scientific, technical and vocational education was proposed to be improved and expanded in a very large measure.

The **Fifth Five year plan** has been drawn up as a part of a long term perspective plan covering the period between 1974 and 1979. The national programme for mini mum needs as incorporated in the Fifth Plan envisages frontal attack on Socio-economic problems by attempting to allocate adequate resources for social consumption for all areas. In this programme attention is concentrated on the programmes relating to elementary education, rural health, nutrition, drinking water provision of the house sites slum improvement, rural roads and rural electrification.

The concrete objectives of the plan are the plan are two strategic goals of removal of poverty and attainment of self-reliance. A special objective of the plan is to increase the consumption of the lowest 30 percent of our population. The

Principle instrument that will be utilized for this purpose in creation of additional employment opportunities.

17.4.1 Twenty Point Programme

On the 26th June, 1975 the President proclaimed a National Emergency. This operated as a shock therapy on the economy. The stringent measures taken against hoarders and smugglers in particular helped to bring down prices.

On July, 1,1975, the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi announced a twenty point economic programme to revamp the national economy. It was regarded as the ushering in of new era for the poor and down-trodden. The measures announced were 1) Liquidation of rural indebtedness. 2) Dealings on agricultural land holding 3) House sites for landless 4) Abolition of bonded labour. 5) Fixation of minimum agricultural wages 6) Income Tax relief to middle classes 7) Relief for students 8) Socialisation of urban land 9) Anti-smuggling measures 10) Prevention of misuse of import licence. 11) Action aginst tax evaders 12) Extention of irrigation 13) Accelerated power programme 14) Liberalization of investment procedures 15) Development of handloom sector 16) Improvement in quality and supply of controlled cloth 17) Worker's participation in management 18) New apprenticeship scheme 19) National permits for road transport and 20) Steps to control prices.

17.5 STATES REORGANISATION

The political units that emerged after the Integration of States were of an adhoc character. They needed some radical alteration. The units were widely dissimilar in area, population and economic viability but the gravest defect was that each was multilingual. The urge was felt to redistribute the boundaries of the states on a more national and scientific basis. Even during the pre-independence days the demand for the creation of provinces on linguistic basis and it was fairly loud and dominant. At Nagpur session in 1920 the Congress had demanded from British Government the reshaping of provinces on language basis. The Muslim League made similar efforts and succeeded in separating Sind from Bombay. After Independence this demand gathered momentum. The Congress which had already endorsed the linguistic principle in 1920 could not give reasonable solution to people's demand. The Congress leaders feared that acceptance of linguistic principle would encourage separatist tendencies and lead to emotional disintegration. For a few years they did not take up the issue. But they had to yield when people in the south agitated for the creation of Visala Andhra. The people of Andhra got their demands redressed and a new state Andhra Pradesh, was formed.

17.5.1 Appointment of State Reorganization Commission

The creation of Andhra Province on language basis led to similar demands in other areas. The people had become so insistent that Nehru commissioned the State Reorganization Commission in 1954, with Fazl Ali as chairman and two other members Sardar K.M. Pannikar and H.N. Kunzru the commission studied the mood of the people and submitted its report in October, 1955. The Commission took into consideration various other claims besides language and culture. It discarded the 'Home land' concept, It was guided by the administrative, financial and national consideration too. The Commission in its report suggested the abolition of distinction between States and recommended that they be given equal status in the federal policy. The Commission did not accept the demand for separation of Maharashtra from Gujarat. It proposed the retention of Punjab and Bombay as bilingual provinces.

17.5.2 State Reorganisation Act, July 1956

The Commission's report was received with mixed feeling. There was a good deal of agitation against its proposals. The opposition parties capitalized the situation to discredit the Congress Party. They also banned the feeling of discontent and linguism. Bombay turned into a trouble spot. The Maharashtrians pressed their demands for a separate state of Marathi speaking people. The Gujaratis demanded Maha Gujarat. Both communities resorted to violence and lawlessness. In July, 1956, the parliament passed the State Reorganisation Act with a slight modification in the Commission's recommendations. Under this act Union territory was divided into fourteen units. Besides these the Act created five union territories.

17.5.3. Emergence of the New States of Maharashtra and Gujarat

The reorganization did not pacify people of Bombay. The city seethed with unrest. The Marathas and the Gujaratis could not reconcile together. The Maharashtra samiti and the Maha Gujarat Parishad led violent agitations for the formation of separate states. The riots broke out on a large scale all over the province. The Government had ultimately to yield to their de mand. The Bombay Re-organisationa Act 1960. divided the province into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Bombay became the capital of Maharashtra and Ahmedabe, the capital of Gurjarat.

17.5.4 Liberation of the French Colonies in India

Even after the end of the British rule, India continued to have foreign pockets in her eastern and western coast. The Indian Government negotiated with the French Government which agreed to transfer its possessions in India to Indian Government. The need of transfer was signed on 28th May; 1956. Yenam. Mahe and Karaikkal have been integrated with Pondicherry.

17.5.5 Inclusion of Goa, Daman and Diu

The liberation of French possessions in India did not coincide with the liberation of Portuguese territories of Goa. Daman and Diu. When the constitutional methods of persuasion and agitation did not bear any fruit, the Indian Government was compelled to take military action on December 18, 1961. It took only a couple of days to liquidate the Protuguese forces. The operation was over on 20th December, 1961, but these territories were formally integrated with the Union on 12th March 1962.

17.5.6 Formation of Nagaland

On 21st August 1962, Prime Minister Nehru introduced in the Lok Sabha two Bills pertaining to the creation of 16th state to be called Nagaland. The bills prosposed to bring into being a nagaland state covering the three districts of Kohima Mokochuang and Tuensan. The State finally came into being on 1st December 1963.

17.5.7 Creation of Haryana

The Punjab Reorganisation Act 1966 was passed by the Indian Parliament and it received the assent of the President on September 18, 1966. The Government of India established a Commission which demarcated the boundaries of Punjab and Haryana. The Government of India gave its verdict on the controversial problem on June 9, 1966. According to this decision Chandigarh was made a centrally administered area or union territory, but it was to remain the capital of both the reorganized Punjab and haryana came into existence. Haryana became the seventeenth state in India.

17.5.8 Inclusion of Himachal Pradesh

In the beginning of 1971, the Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh was conferred full statehood. According to the Reorganisation Act of 1971, Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya have become states and the Union Teritories of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh have been created out of the state of Assam, Meghalaya was carved out of Assam and given statehood on 10th January, 1972. The new

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Mention Twenty Point Programme.

4. Give an account of the state Reorganization Act.

states of Manipur and Tripura were inaugurated on 21st January, 1972. In 1975, Sikkim became an associate state with in the Indian Union. So since 21 January 1976, there are 22 states in India. The administration of these states is being run by the Governor with the help of Council of Ministers which is responsible to the Legislative Assembly. The administration of the Union Territories is run either by the Lt. Governor or the Chief Commissioner who is dominated by the President of India.

17.6 FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

The objectives of India's foreign policy are simple and clear. The Primary objectives of the policy has always been the promotion of international peace and security. The policy is the promotion of self determination from all colonial people. The third policy is opposition to racialism and support to the promotion of an regalitarian society in which discrimination based on colour, race or class does not exist. The fourth major objective of the policy is peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflicts. In the international forum and among the committee of nations independent India, inspite of her size and population has been able to make much impact. India has not only strengthened her military might, but she is also improving steadily in economic and industrial development. She has been getting aid and incurring heavy foreign debts. She also refused to join either of the power blocks. By opting for the policy of non-alignment she incurred the displeasure and distrust of both the power blocks. Without support of any big power and also without military strength she became an easy victim to Chinese aggression. When China invaded India in 1962, she had to plead and appeal for U.S. support. On the other hand Pakistan which joined the CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation and SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organisation) military pacts received massive military aid and launched two severe attacks on India.

The spectacular success of China in the Indo-Chinese War of 1962 made India lose her prestige in the international area. It proved that the Panchashila first enunciated in the Indo-China friendship pact had no meaning at all. Both China and Pakistan scored over India in the propaganda War. India was eventually forced to enter into some protective friendship treaties with Big powers. On 9th August, 1971. India signed a twenty year treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union the first of its kind since Independence. This treaty kept China and the U.S.A from intervening actively on the side of the enemy in the Indo-Pak war of December 1971. The great victory won by India's Jawans in Bangala Desh has reestablished her prestige. At the same time she also tried to maintain cordial relations with the U.S.A.

An amicable settlement was made between India and Sri Lanka regarding Katchative by an agreement signed by both the countries in September, 1974. The 35th Amendment of the Constitution gave an associate state's status to Sikkim. In the first half of 1975. Sikkim had become one of the states of India exploded her first nuclear device in June 1974 thus becoming the sixth number of the nuclear Club. She is determined to use her atomic energy exclusively for peaceful purpose.

Further India stood for the independence of other nations also. She is a staunch fighter against colonialism and imperialism. India convened the Pan-Asia conference in 1948 at Delhi to free the people of Asia from colonial rule. On April 1, 1955, an Afro-Asian Conference was held. In this Conference Nehru pleaded for the unity of Afro-Asian people to maintain peace and economic co-operation. When Pakistan attacked India in 1955, the people rose as one nation under Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri, the Taskent Declaration ended this War. It was signed on January, 1966 by Sastri and President Ayubkhan of Pakistan.

In June 1954, a Sino-Indian Pact was concluded between Chou-En-Lai, the then Prime Minister of China and Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. Both of them reached an understanding on the five paramount principles of International conduct known as Panchasheel. These principles are as follows: 1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty 2) Non-aggression 3) Non interference in each others internal affairs 4) Recognition of equality and mutual benefit and 5) Peaceful co-existence. Within a short time, these five principles were accepted by Vietnam, Burma, Yugoslavia, Poland, Austria and Egypt.

The Panchashila does not constitute any contractual obligations nor has it any sanction behind it except the good faith of powers concerned. It only expresses the solemn with that nations would live peacefully side by side and try to settle their differences peacefully. The Bandung Conference endorsed the Panchashila and reinforced it by adding two more principles namely respect for fundamental human rights and settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. The Bandung Conference was attended by representation of twenty nine countries-twenty three Asian and six African.

Check Your Progress Questions

5. Briefly explain the foreign policy of India.
6. Discuss the relationship of India with United Nations.

17.7 INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

India is one of the signatories to the United Nations Character at San Francisco, 1945. Ever since the inceptions of the United Nations, India has been ceaselessly working in promoting its ideals. She has always been anxious to see that the United Nations turns out to be a forum of the whole world in the true sense, precisely for this reason she had been in favour of admission of China to the United Nations. The role she played in the Korean War and Suez Crisis earned the appreciation from all quarters. In the Korean War, India's part was mainly mediatory. The role she played in Congo was positive nature. She rallied to the call of the United Nations for military contribution.

By and large India's foreign policy has been successful in projecting the image of India as peaceful country of the Third World dedicated to the cause of world peace. In the 1960's however, she was forced with two developments which put her foreign policy to a severe test. China which had claimed a large chunk of Indian territory launched an unprovoked aggression in 1962 to relies her claims. The second major development was the Indo-Pakistan conflict in September 1965 when Pakistan violated the international border south of cease fire line between Kashmir and West Pakistan. However despite all vicissitudes Inida's foreign policy based on nonalignment has stood the test of time and has won fresh adherents in Asia and Africa.

17.8 LET US SUM UP

This Unit provides the details of election system in India and state reorganization. In India, Elections are regulated by the representatives of people Act. The first general election was held in 1952. The first step taken by the Ahlee Government was to hold general elections in India. Now also we are following the election system. India's economy to day is in the process of fast development. The Government of India organize the planning commission to formulate economic plans for the country. In which remarkable programme was introduced the Twenty point programme by Prime Minister Mrs. Indra Gandhi. State reorganization was another important mile stone of modern History. It was purely based by linguistic principle.

17.9 KEY WORDS

territory	-	land or region
envisages	-	book in the face
frontal	-	covering for an altar-front
apprenticeship	-	learner bound to employer for specified term

17.10 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer Section No. 17.1
For Question No.2	Refer Section No. 17.2-17.3
For Question No.3	Refer Section No. 17.4.1
For Question No.4	Refer Section No. 17.5.2
For Question No.5	Refer Section No. 17.6
For Question No.6	Refer Section No. 17.7

17.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1.	B.R. Nanda.,	-	Essays in Modern Indian History
2.	A.L. Sri vatsav.,	-	History of Modern India.
3.	L.P. Sharma.,	-	History of Modern India.
4.	S. Sarkar.,	-	Modern India

17.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the outcomes of the general elections held in India since 1952?
2. Give an account of Indian Planned Economic Development.
3. Give an account of the stages of Reorganization of States?
4. What are the salient features of foreign policy of India?

Space for Hints

ADMINISTRATION OF NEHRU AND LALBAHADUR SHASTRI. INDIAN PRESIDENTS FROM RAJENDRA PRASAD TO FAKRUDDHIN ALI AHAMED.

INTRODUCTION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the first Prime Minister of India, was one of the greatest politicians of the world. He was the son of Pt.Moti Lal Nehru, who himself was a great political leader of India. He was born on 14th November, 1889 at Allahabad. He went to England for higher studies and return to India in 1912 after qualifying himself as a Barrister, while still in England he aspired for the independence of his country.

On his return to India he started his practice at Allahabad but he did not lag behind in the service of his motherland. Soon he began to take on active part in the politics of his country and became popular within no time. In 1929 he was elected as the President of Indian National Congress at its Lahore Session where the resolution for the complete independence of India was passed. After that he began to condemn the British Government more vigorously for its repressive measures and on that account he went to jail several times.

In 1937 when the elections were held of the various Provincial Legislatures, it was because of the great efforts made by Pt.Nehru that the Congress party formed ministries in eight out of the eleven provinces. In 1946 when the Interim Government was established at the Centre he was elected as in Vice-President. In 1946 Rajendra Prasad was unanimously elected president of the constituent Assembly. He was the first President of India. During the time 1950 to 1977 five President were administered India. They were great patriot.

Since 15th August 1947 till his death on May 27. 1964 Jawahar Lal Nehru acted as the Prime Minister of Free India without a single break. During these years India progressed in all directions under his able guidance. It was because of his great devotion. sacrifice and abilities that India made all-round progress and won a great fame in the World. Nehru also played an important part in maintaining the world peace.

OBJECTIVES

By the studying this unit, the student will able to

- Know about the first two Prime Ministers of India

- Understand the achievement of India of during the tenure first two Prime Ministers and five Presidents.
- Estimate the importance of the India's administration

UNIT STRUCTURE

18.1 Nehru and Five year plans
  18.1.1 Re-organisation of states
  18.1.2 Foreign policy of Nehru
18.2. Lal Bahadur Sastri
18.3. Dr.Rajendra Prasad (1994 – 1963)
18.4 Dr.Radhakrishan (1962 – 1964)
18.5 Dr.Zakir Hussin (1967 – 1964)
18.6 Sh.V.V. Giri (1969 – 1974)
18.7 Sh.Fakhruddin Ali Ahamed (1974 – 1977)
18.8 Let us sum up
18.9 Key Words
18.10 Answer for CYP Questions
18.11 Books for Further Reading
18.12 Questions and Exercises

18.1 NEHRU AND FIVE YEAR PLANS

Nehru had seen the tremendous progress of countries like Russia, America and Britain. He wanted to make India self sufficient in her economy. Heavy and small industries, agriculture, transport and communication and technical education should be developed according to the western pattern. He therefore setup a "Planning commission" in 1951 and his three five year plans took the country on the road of economic progress. The first plan (1951-1956) covered a five year period from April 1951 to March 1956, but it was only in December 1952, when more than 1½ years of the plan period had been over that the plan was actually implemented. It proposed an expenditure of Rs.2069 crores and later it was raised to Rs.2378 crores. The plan gave top priority to agriculture. Then came transport, key industries and social services. Key industries like iron and steel, aluminum, cement, fertiltisers, heavy chemicals, machine tools etc. were started. Government followed a policy of mixed Economy, that is Public Sector and Private sector co-operating for the industrial development of the country, with regard to consumption goods, industries like cotton textiles, soap, sugar, vanaspathi were to

Check Your Progress Question

1. Estimate five year plans of Nehru.
2. Mention about reorganization of states

be developed for the completion of the Chittarajan Locomotive Factory and of the Machine Tool factory in Mysore and for the expansion of the sindri Fertiliser Factory and the Vizagapatnam shipping Yard. A novel feature of the plan was the establishment of the community projects for pressing into service the under utilized reserves of man power in the country. A small sum of money was devoted to popularize Family Planning.

At the Avadi Congress of 1954 decided Socialistic Pattern of Society, the second plan (1956-1961) included in it objectives. The aims of the Second Plan were: 1) an increase of the ease of national income by about 25% 2) Employment opportunities to 10 to 12 million unemployed people. 3) development of basic and heavy industries and 4) the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society through the reduction of inequalities in wealth. Three Steel Plans at Bhilai (with Russian co-operation), Reurkela (with German co-operation) and Durgapur (with British co-operation) were set up in the Public sector to add to the production of iron and steel by the Tisco and Isco in the Private Sector. If heavy industries were capital intensive, small scale were labour intensive and will provide more employment to people. Hence along with heavy industries, small scale and cottage industries were set up throughout the country during this plan period.

Profiting by the experience of the first two plans, the Third plan was set before by Nehru with the following modest objectives: 1) to increase the national income by 25% 2) to increase agricultural production to meet the requirements of industry an exports and to achieve self sufficiency foodgrains: 4) to increase employment opportunities; 5) and to reduce inequalities in wealth. The Third Plan was faced with a number of difficulties. The sudden death of Nehru (May 26, 1964). shocked the entire world and affected the course of the third Five Year Plan. The wars with China and Pakistan diverted the expenditure towards defence requirements. Further there was drought in several parts of the country and agricultural production was also affected. However the next Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri successfully carried out the Third Five Year Plan.

18.1.1 Reorganisation of States

One important development after the inauguration of the Republican Constitution of India in 1950 was the agitation for the setting up of Linguistic States. In the days of the struggle for Freedom Congress had been demanding the formation of Linguistic States. The struggle for linguistic States started with the Telugu speaking people of the composite Madras State, launching an agitation for a separate Andhra State. Jawaharlal Nehru who was then the Prime Minister appointed the Dhar Commission in 1948 to go into the question of carving out a Telugu State out of the composite Madras State. The Dhar Commission declared that the time was not suitable for the formation of an Andhra Linguistic State. In 1953 Poti Sriramulu, an Andhra leader started a fast unto death to draw the attention of the Government to the need for forming an Andhra State. His death consequent on the fast, made Nehru concede the demand and an Andhra State came into being on October 2, 1953. Subsequently a number of new states were created in India on the basis of regional Languages.

18.1.2Foreign Policy of Nehru

India's foreign Policy since the dawn of freedom has been the policy laid down by Nehru. He was a great internationalist and as the political heir or Mahatmaji was a lover of Peace. In the shaping of India's Foreign policy he was ably aided by V.K. Krishna Menon just as in the integration of States. Sardar patel was ably helped by V.P. Menon. Though Nehru fought the British Government, he made Free India a member of the Common Wealth, Membership of the Commonwealth shows India's goodwill to Britain. Besides India stands to gain by being a member., for India has had connection with Britain for nearly two hundred years. It must be noted that still India is a free member of the Commonwealth.

Free India's contribution to world peace has been substantial. This is due mainly to the policy laid down by Free India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. As the political heir of Mahatmaji, the apostle of non-violence, Nehru believed in peace. He felt that a developing country like India cannot afford to spend large sums of money on the Defence equipment and Defence Forces. He believed the peace is essential for the economic progress of the country. But if India alone follows a policy of peace and other nations prepare themselves for war, it will not be good. So India should strive to maintain peace in the world. India became a member of the U.N.O and the India has consistently worked all these years for the ideals of the world organization.

India has co-operated with the U.N.O. in the maintenance of world peace. India took a leading part in stopping the war in the East Indies and in helping the formation of the Indonesian State. Jawaharlal Nehru summoned an Asian Conference in Delhi in 1949 and focused world public opinion on the need of the Dutch clearing out of the East Indies and helping the creation of the Indonesian Free State. It has been said that Indonesia was a child of the U.N.O. and that

Nehru played the part of midwife and saw to the safe delivery of the child. Again, when North Korea invaded south Korea, the U.N.O. interfered and prevented the conflict from escalating into a world war. India co-operated with the U.N.O. and sent a medical Mission and later sent her General Thimmayya to solve the Prisoners of War question. In 1954 Nehru was responsible for the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement to put an and to the conflict in Indo-China. In 1956 Nehru supported the U.N.O. in stopping the Anglo-French aggression in the Suez Canal area. Again Nehru send a contingent to the International Force in Congo and Cyprus in order to preserve peace in these troubled areas.

Nehru had always been condemning the apartheid policy of the South African Government and its annexation of German South West Africa. He had also been condemning the Rhodesian Government for its racialism and for refusing equal rights to the majority African population – Nehru declared in one of his speeches that apartheid or racialism is a grass violation of the principles of the U.N. Charter. Like this, Nehru had been consistently pleading for Communist China's admission to the U.N.O. Again the famous speech of Jawaharlal Nehru in the Central Assembly of the U.N.O. in 1948 exhorted all the member of the U.N.O. to work for world peace, for without peace progress was impossible. Again in the West Asian conflict between Israel and the Arabs Nehru had been supporting the cause of the Arabs and had been asking Israel to restore her Nehru had been supporting the cause of the Arabs and had been asking Israel to restore her conquests to the Arab States. Further, Nehru and condemning American interference in the Vietnam War and had protested against the establishment of an American naval base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. Nehru also referred the Kashmir dispute to the U.N.O. and if the different Commissions appointed by the U.N.O. were notable to solve the problem, Pakistan declared war on India in 1965 when Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Prime Minister. The war was stopped by the Tashkent Agreement, But the problem between the two country is still continuing and the efforts are being taken to solve it by negotiations.

At a time when the world was divided into two powerful blocks, the Anglo-American democracies on the one side and the Communist block on the other, Nehru felt that it would be unwise for India to align herself with any one block. To do so would be to increase the tension of Cold War. By not aligning itself to any one bloc, Nehru hoped to promote peace. He also decided each case on its merits. This Policy of Non-Alignment has its merits and defects. By adopting this policy India is the friend of everyone; it has no enemies. So India can get aid from both blocs. Then the policy of Non-Alignment creates a bloc of non-Aligned Countries and this Third Bloc helped to prevent international conflicts under the able guidance of Nehru.

Jawaharlal Nehru also laid down the Pancha Shila Principles in 1954. They were accepted by China and later by the Afro-Asian Nations at the Bandung Conference in 1955. The Pancha Shila principles are: 1) Peaceful co-existence; 2) Non-interference in the affairs of their countries; 3) Non-Aggression; 4) Territorial integrity; 5) Mutual Trade. China punctured the Pancha Shila and invaded our country in 1962 and occupied large part of territory in the North-West and North-East. Anxious to promote peace, Nehru addressed a communication about Chinese aggression to the Governments of almost all the countries of the world. Six Non-Aligned Countries, namely, Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Ghana and the United Arab Republic met at Colobo in 1962 and made some proposals for solving the Indo-Chinese conflict. India accepted the proposals but China turned them down. But still the negotiations are held between the two countries to solve the problems.

18.2. LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

Lal Bahadur Shastri was the second Prime Minister of India. He proved a worthy successor of Pt. Nehru and extended all sorts of co-operation to the philosopher-president. Dr.S.RadhaKrishnan. Born poor parents he rose to the high position of the Prime Minister of India by dint of his hard work, honesty and true love for his countrymen. Born of the same day (i.e. 2nd October) as was Mahatma Gandhi, he was the apostle of peace and the master of undaunted courage.

He was sworn in an the Prime Minister of India of June 11, 1964. He remained on this Past only for about 19 months (June 1964-January 1966) but during this short stay in office he won the heart of the nation. There was a bloody war with Pakistan for twenty-two days (September-October 1965). He infused a new courage among the Indian people and made them ready to sacrifice everything-money, gold even life, for their motherland. He gave a new slogan, "jai Jawan Jai Kisan" with which he inspired the nation. His display of courage won the administration of everybody and it was mostly because of him that the Indian army won great laurels. In the face of stiff resistance Pakistan was forced to end the war and come for terms. Peace was at last restored by the Tashkent Agreement

Check Your Progress Questions

3. What are the special features of Nehru's foreign policy

4. Estimate the services of the first two Presidents of India.

which was signed at Tashkent between Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of India and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan.

According to Tashkent Agreement both the sides decided to restore peaceful relations between the two countries to withdraw their armed personal to the positions they held before August 5, 1965; not to interfere in the internal affairs of each other; to discourage propaganda directed against each other to restore diplomatic relations and lastly, to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of War. This agreement evoked a mixed reception. While some declared it a betrayal and a defeat there were others who declared it to be a triumph of the force of peace. Lal Bahadur Shastri was both a 'Man of War and Man of Peace' when he died only a few hours after the Tashkent Agreement due to heart attack. His death was really an unbearable loss to the whole country, especially to President Radhakrishnan, who lost two of his best companions in quick succession one after the other.

The first two Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Sahstri were the great patriots. At the time of struggle for independence both of them under the guidance of Gandhiji, led the people of the nation against the British. After independence as the Prime Minsters they worked hard for economic and social development of the country. The first three five year plans carefully chartered out and successfully carried out. As a result, India achieved some quick development in all walks of life. The people of India will remember for ever the role played by them for India's advancement and world peace.

18.3. DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of Indian Republic (Jan. 1950 to May 1962), is counted amongst the few top-ranking leaders of modern India. He was a brilliant student of Calcutta University. He broke all previous records by his genius. He was offered a scholarship for higher studies in England but he refused to go on patriotic grounds. His practice at the bar also bore the stamp of his brilliance. But he gave up his lucrative practice to work with Gandhiji during Champaran Satyagraha. He went to jail several times in connection with Congress Movements. In 1946 he was unanimously elected President of the constituent Assembly. He enriched it with his valuable suggestion in drafting the constitution of free India. On January 26, 1950, when the new Constitution came into force he was elected the first President of Indian Republic and held the helm of Indian affairs for continuous 12 years.

During his presidentship two **Five Year Plans** were prepared to increase the country's resources and to raise the standard of living of the people. In 1959 the **Panchayat Raj** was inaugurated in some states so that people should have better training for the successful working of democracy in India, Various irrigation and hydro-electric projects have been taken up to convert the still uncultivated lands into smiling fields and to effect industrialization at a breakneck speed so that much foreign exchange could be saved. Of all these projects there is none that can be compared with the Bhakra Nangal Project which is perhaps the greatest achievement of the Punjab after independence. As a result of this project it is hoped that the Punjab will become once again the "Granary of India".

In the external field too India achieved a lot under the guidance of Dr.Rajendra Prasad and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru who acted as the Prime Minister of India during this whole period. India followed a neutral policy and did not join either the American or the Soviet Russia Bloc, Again, India fully sympathized with all those countries who tried to win their freedom. In many cases India helped a lot in setting the world disputes as in Korea, Indo-China, Laos etc. In short India played an important part of maintaining the world peace.

In 1950 India, lost Sardar Patel, the iron man of India, who played a unique part in the unification of India. The great services great he rendered to India will ever be remembered by his countrymen. In 1953 Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir was dismissed and arrested when his loyalty towards India became suspected without any doubt. In his place Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad headed the new Cabinet as the Prime Minister of Kashmir. The two enclaves of Data and Nagar Haveli, which were under the Portuguese domination, were merged in the Indian Union on 17th August 1961.

In 1962 Dr. Rajendra Prasad left the high post of the President of India and retired to Sadaqat Ashram in Bihar to lead a peaceful life. But unfortunately, he expired in February 1963 and thus India was deprived of his valuable guidance. He was undoubtedly a symbol of simple living and high thinking.

18.4. DR. RADHAKRISHNAN (MAY 1962-MAY 1967)

In May, 1962 Dr.Rajendra Prasad was succeeded by Dr.Radhakrishnan as the president of India. 1952 to 1962 he had been acting as the Vice-President of India and as such he was the fittest person to grace this highest post of the Indian Republic. Dr.Radhakrishnan is a highly learned man and is one of the greatest philosophers that India has ever produced. Soon after the assumption of his office he began to invite ordinary people, in the Rashtrapti Bhawan to place their grievances before him. When he was busy in serving his people India received a great shock, perhaps, the greatest shock after Independence, when China, whose admission in the U.N.O. India has always been advocating, made an unprovoked attack on its northern borders on 20th October 1962. As India is a peace-loving country it received initial reverses but soon it amassed all its resources and caused heavy casualties in the enemy lines. Various foreign countries, especially England and America stood by India at this critical juncture and rendered every possible help to push back the Chinese. After some time China withdrew from certain Indian territories of its own accord, but still thousands of square miles of Indian territory is under its control. Certain neutral countries like Ceylon, Indonesia, Egypt, Burma etc. proposed the Colombo Plan as a solution to the conflict between India and China, while India accepted it, China refused to accept it one pretext or the other. Under such circumstances anything can be expected of China, so India should not slow down its production plans and should get ready for any eventuality. Since then this country has been acting as a hostile country towards India so we should strengthen our position as much as we can and be prepared for any eventuality. Under the guidance of both Dr.Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Nehru we faced this danger quite successfully. Really it was a great shock to the Indians especially to Dr. Radhakrishnan when Pt.Jawaharlal Nehru passed away on 27th May, 1964 and the President was left alone. In a moving tribute to the departed leader, the President spoke of Mr.Nehru "as one of the greatest figures of our generation, an outstanding statesman, a fighter and a maker of modern India. With his passing away an epoch in our country's history has come to a close".

The next Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri proved a worthy successor of Pt.Nehru and extended all sorts of co-operation to the philosopher-President. Under the able guidance of Dr.Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri India stood another test when Pakistan invaded this country in September, 1965. Pakistan was forced to end her hostility and come to terms by the **Tashkent Agreement.** But the whole country including President Dr.Radhakrishnan was stunned to hear the unexpected demise of Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. The "Little Man" as he was generally known in the Western world had proved himself to be the "Iron Man of India". His death was really an unbearable loss to the whole country especially to the President, who lost his two best companions in quick succession, one after the other.

From January 1966 to May 1967, Dr.Radhakrishnan worked with Shrimathi Indira Gandhi, third Prime Minister of India. This was a period of great test for India because both China and Pakistan were active against this country. But under the able guidance of both Dr.Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi India passed through all the stress and strain very successfully.

Thus for full fifteen years, ten years as Vice-President (1952-62) and five years (1962-67) as President Dr.RadhaKrishnan served his country to the greatest extent. When he stepped down the office of president ship, in May 1967, everybody praised his great abilities. He is really a great philosopher and a great thinker of world-wide fame. Dr.Zakir Hussain, the then President of India, had rightly said of him at the time of his assuming the high office of Presidenship, "I have been called upon to occupy this office after one of the most distinguished sons of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan who has been for long years my guide, philosopher and friend and under when it has been my valued privilege to work for the last five years".

18.5. DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN (1967-69)

In may 1967 Dr.Radhakrishnan was succeeded by Dr.Zakir Hussain. He was elected to this high office after a hot contest with the former Chief Justice K.SubbaRao. From 1962 to 1967 he served the country as Vice-President of India and as such he had gained enough experience to prove a successful president. His election was hailed as the victory of secularism in India.

Dr.Zakir Husain was a great educationist. He was the founder of Jamia Millia, an institution which has done a lot in the promotion of education in India. He also acted as the President of Hindustani Talimi Sangh under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Much of he success of Basic education was also due to him. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University for many years. From 1962 to 1967 he acted as the Vice President of India. As Vice-President he impressed everybody including the foreign diplomats and dignitaries not only with his charm but also with the variety and keenness of his interests.

He was also a writer of great merit. His biography on Mahatma Gandhi and many other books including "Diwan-i-Ghalib" are worthy of praise.

As President of India Dr. Zakir Husain pledged to serve the people whole heartedly and impartially. After taking the oath of office he said "The whole of Bharat is my home and its people my family….. It shall be my earnest endeavour to seek to make this home strong and beautiful, a worthy home for a great people

Check Your Progress Questions

5. Write a note on Fahruddin Ali Ahamed.

engaged in the fascinating tasks of building up a just, prosperous and graceful life". So long as he lived he remained true to his oath. Till his death on May 3, 1969 he served the nation very faithfully. He was truly a beacon of secularism.

People from all walks of life wept bitterly on the death of their beloved leader on Saturday, the 3rd of May, 1969. Many of them fainted as if he was a member of their own family.

18.6. SH. V.V.GIRI (AUGUST 1969-1974)

In August 1969, Mr. Varah Giri Venket Giri became the fourth President of India. He assumed this office after defeating Dr.N. Sanjiva Reddy in one of the most sensational Presidential contest that free India has yet witnessed. It goes to his credit that he contested the election as an independent candidate and defeated the Congress candidate by a margin of about 4,450 votes. On that occasion the Hindustan Time correspondent remarked "It was for the first time in India's Presidential elections that the official congress candidate (i.e.Mr.N. Sanjiva Reddy) was defeated". In fact he had the full backing of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, and her supporters who believed that the highest office of the land must be above party politics. His success has pledged full support to the new President in the following words:-

"May I offer Warmest felicitations on your election to the highest office in the land. I assure you, both on my personal behalf and also on behalf of the Government of our co-operation and support at all times".

It is by the sheer strength of the character and independence of spirit that Giri has worked his way upto the Presidency. Born of a middle class family he received his education at the district town of Berhampore in Orissa and latter in the Dublin University in Ireland. Soon after his return to India in 1916, when he was hardly 22 years old, he took an active part in the Freedom Movement and Trade-Union activities. During the last five decades he gained much experience as politicians and a trade unionist. he was the member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1935, twice he became the Labour Minister of Madras in 1937 and 1946 and was India's first envoy to Ceylon in 1947. he returned to India in 1952 to join the Union Cabinet as Labour Minister. He became the Governor of Utter Pradesh in 1957 and was the guiding force in Kerala and Mysore before he was elected as the Vice-President of India in May 1967. He was also founder of many trade unions and was among the founding fathers of the all-India Trade Union Congress. As a Trade Unionist he has never been a party to unclean methods.

For two years (1967-69) he acted as the Vice-President of India and the chairman of the Rajya Sabha. At the ripe age of 75, he was elected as the Fourth President of India in August 1969. He was perhaps the oldest President to the nation's highest office but he possessed the vigor and strength of a young man.

The nationalization of 14 major Banks of India was an important steps which was undertaken during his period of presidency. Not less an important event was the complete defeat or rout of Pakistan, when it attacked India on December 3, 1971. Under his able guidance India came out with flying colour out of such trying circumstances. Pakistan lost both in prestige and territory. It had to give up its eastern part once for all and a new country was born under the name of Bangladesh.

18.7. SH.FAKHRUDDIN ALIAHMED (1974 - 1977)

Sh. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was sworn in as the fifth President of India on August 24, 1974. He defeated the opposition candidate, Sh. Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri by over 5, 76, 391 votes. He was 69 when he assumed this office of the President of the Indian Republic, but he had begun taking part in politics in his very early age. He was the member of the Indian National Congress since 1931. Since then he was a dead enemy of the Muslim League. A freedom fighter and nationalist he fought the Muslim league in the Pre-partition days. When a congress Ministry was formed in Assam in 1938-39 he was made the Finance and Revenue Minister. But he soon resigned this post when he offered individual satyagraha in 1940 as commanded by Mahatma Gandhi. As such, during 1940-45 he suffered imprisonment twice in the freedom struggle. In 1945 when a Muslim League Ministry was formed in Assam for a short while, he had to face a very tough time. But he encountered the wrath of the Muslim League with full courage and determination.

Soon after the partition of the country Mr. Ahmed became a member of the Congress Working committee and in 1952-53 he became a member of the RajyaSabha. In 1957 he was elected to the Assam Assembly and in the following year he joined the State cabinet. There after he continued to be a Minister from 1958 to 1962 and then from 1962-64. He has been a member of the Parliamentary Board since 1964. In 1966 he was taken as a Minister of Irrigation and power in the Central Cabinet.

But in the following year his portfolio was changed into Education. 1967 then general elections were held he was once again elected as the member of

Parliament and on March 13, 1967 he was sworn in as the Cabinet Minister for Industrial Development and Company Affairs in the new Government. In 1969 when there was a split in the Congress Party he was among the first group of leaders who threw in their lot with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In 1971 when new election for the Parliament was held, he was once again elected as the Member of Parliament by an overwhelming majority. Once again he was sworn in as a Cabinet Minister, an office which he held upto 1974, before his election as the President of the Indian Republic. Mr. Ahmed remained on this highest post for about two years and a half till his death on February 11th 1977.

During this period he tried to serve all the people without any distinction of caste, creed or colour. In the hour of need he proved a lighthouse to the taming millions and endeavored successfully in solving the problems facing our country. One of the important events during his tenure was the declaration of Emergency in June 1975 which remained in force for full 19 months. What was gained or lost during the period is still a controversy but there is no controversy over the greatness of Mr.Fakhruddin Ali's own personality. He was loved and adored by all the people. He was a great patriot, a wise statesman and beacon light of secularism.

18.8 LET US SUM UP

This unit provides details about the Prime Ministers and Presidents and the administration and achievements. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister of India. One of the important developments of the Nehru's period was the agitation for the setting up of Linguistic states. During his period several new states were created on the basis of regional languages. Jawaharlal Nehru's Panchashil principles was helpful for mutual understanding of India with neighbouring countries. In addition to that the policy of Non-Alignment was yet another great contribution of Nehru. In independent India the first President was Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

He was elected as president by the constituent assembly in 1946. During his presidentship two five year plans were prepared for India. As a result India achieved some quick development in all walks of life. His successor was Dr.Radhakrishnan. He was not only a great scholar but great philosopher too. He served his country to the greatest extent. Dr.Zakir Hussian, the third President of India was a great educationist. His famous book "Diwani Ghalib" is worthy of praise V.V. Giri became the fourth president of India. During his time 14 banks were nationalized. He was also the founder of many trade unions and founding father of All India Trade Union Congress. Fahruddin Ali Ahmed was the fifth President of India.

18.9 KEY WORDS

1. **Portfolio** - the office of a minister of a state.
2. **Apartheid** - a policy of south Africa to segregate white people from others.
3. **Racism** - the doctrine that the particular race is superior to others.
4. **Allegations** - statement not supported for final proof.

18.10 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Refer Section No. 18.1
For Question No.2	Refer Section No. 18.1.1
For Question No.3	Refer Section No. 18.1
For Question No.4	Refer Section No. 18.2
For Question No.1	Refer Section No. 18.1

18.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **D.D.Basu.,** - Introduction into Indian constitution.
2. **Dr.A.Appadurai.,** - Substance of India politics.
3. **Vankatesan.,** - Contemporary History of India.
4. **S.P.Nanda.,** - History of Modern India.

18.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISE

1. Discuss the role played by Jawaharlal Nehru for promoting Indian Economy and World Peace.
2. Explain the constitutions made by the India presidents.
3. Critically examine the role of V.V.Giri and Fahruddin Ali Ahamed.

LESSON - 19

INDIA'S CLASH WITH PAKISTAN
CHINESE AGGRESSIONS
POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT.

INTRODUCTION

On 14th August 1947, Pakistan became independent. On that next day 15th August India became independent. The relations with China were cordial till the war broke between the two in 1962. India was the first country to recognize the Communist regime in China. She pleaded to the entry of Communist China in the United Nations. During the Korean War, when China entered the war on the side of North Korea, the sympathies of the people of India were on the side of Red China. After their success in the Korean War, the Chinese began to talk of liberating Tibet.

Even since the partition of India, the relation between India and Pakistan have been strained, and shortly after it, the two had a 14-month undeclared war until January 1, 1949. Pakistan has always considered India as her arch enemy and has never missed an opportunity of exploiting India's difficulties to have some advance for herself.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

- Know about India's relationship with neighboring countries
- Understand the clash with Pakistan and china
- Estimate the Importance of the policy of the Non Alignment

UNIT STRUCTURE:

19.1 India and Pakistan
  19.1.1. Religious Conditions
19.2 India's Relations with China
  19.2.1. Tibetan issue
  19.2.2. NEFA
  19.2.3. Support to Pakistan
19.3 Non-Alignment
  19.3.1. Aim and Objectives
  19.3.2. The Sixth Summit

19.3.3. OPEC
19.4. Let us sum up
19.5. Key Words
19.6. Answer for CYP Question
19.7 Books for Further Readings
19.8. Questions and Exercises.

19.1. INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Pakistans chief dispute with India is over Kashmir, an Indian state which has a predominant Muslim population. In 1948 when India become independent, Kashmir was ruled by a Hindu Maharaja, who supported by his Muslim Prime Minister, Sheik Abdulla, acceded to the Indian Union. When the Pakistani tribesmen, supported by army regulars, invaded the state in October 1947, at the request of the Maharaja, the Indian army arrived on the scene, halted the invaders march and saved Srinagar from falling into their hands. Soon after India had to wage a full scale frontier war with Pakistan herself, who thought denied her complicity in the invasion, finally, admitted her participation in it and India completely cleared the valley of the invaders.

In fact and law Kashmirs accession to India is a settled one. But while accepting the accession the Government of India told the Maharaja that as soon as law and order has been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of state accession should be settled by a reference to the People". This pledge, though not given to Pakistan or to the U.N. was, nevertheless, "a serious political mistake" committed by Nehru on the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten. Nehru took the issue of Pakistan aggression in Kashmir to the U.N. where the global power politics influenced the decision of the U.N. quite differently from what India had expected, Nehru-could have opted for a military solution to the problem and let the army to fight it out and find a solution. The Security Council, instead of identifying and branding it the aggressor, harped on Nehru's "pledge" of "reference of the people" and interpreted it as an offer of plebiscite and set up a Commission, firsts, to bring about a cease fire between the two. and then after order is restored to take measures for conducting the plebiscite. The Commission succeeded in his first objective viz, effecting a cease fire. when it became effective on January 1, 1949, two-thirds of the territories of Kashmir was with India and the remaining one third with Pakistan. This position still continues.

Check Your Progress Question

1. Give an account of India's relationship with Pakistan.

2. Write a short note on Tibatean issue

Both India and Pakistan accepted the idea of plebiscite and demilitarization in Kashmir. But due to contrary stand taken by India and Pakistan over the scope of demilitarization and the appointment of a plebiscite administrator the efforts of U.N. mediators such as Sir Owen Dixon and of India and Pakistan in August 1953 also ended in failure. By this time, an important event affecting the security of India took place. On September 8, 1954 Pakistan announced the acceptance of military aid from U.S.A. which contended that it was for defense against communist countries like Russia and China. But India rightly considered that the arming of Pakistan was a direct threat to her. Under the changed situation created by the American military aid, India refused to reduce her number of soldiers in Kashmir and also to hold plebiscite there. The issue reverted to the Security Council once again by Pakistan. The efforts of Pakistan and her western friends to take up the issue in subsequent years were frustrated by the Soviet Union's vetoes. In 1963, President Ayub Khan came to the conclusion that military pressure alone would compel India to solve the Kashmir problem to her satisfaction. He stepped up military build up along the boarder, unleashed a propaganda warfare against India in the Afro-Asian countries and, finally in April 1965, attacked India in the Rann of Kutch to test the efficiency and preparedness of India to wage a war. Through the mediation of the British Prime Minister a treaty was signed providing for arbitration of the issue by a tribunal the decision of which was favorable to Pakistan.

Emboldened by the success in the Rann of Kutch, Ayub made a bold but reckless attempt in September in 1965 to grab Kashmir by force, first, by sending armed infiltrators into the valley and then by an armed attack. This 22 day war caused considerable loss to both sides and the Security Council intervened and brought about a cease fire between the two.

Britain took a partisan attitude but Soviet Union adopted a natural stance and offered to mediate and proposed that the Indian Prime Minister and the Pakistan President should meet at Tashkent. Both agreed to it. Tashkent deliberation started on January 1, 1966 and on 10th January" the Tashkent Agreement was signed, providing for the withdrawal of troops from the occupied areas, exchange of prisoners of war and normalization of trade relations between the two countries. Though President Ayub Khan sincerely desired to implement the provisions of the Tashkent Agreement, he could not do so owing to stiff opposition to the agreement, in the West Pakistan, led by his own Foreign

Minister Z.A. Bhutto and again Ayub reverted to a "hate India" policy Tashkent spirit vanished.

The relation between the two countries continued to be strained. Then, in the 1971 came the Bangladesh crisis. The repressive measures adopted by the Pakistan army in the erstwhile. East Pakistan forced lakhs of Bengalis flee from East Pakistan and they entered India as refugees. The indifference of Yahya Khan to the Indian request to stem the flow of refugees to India by finding a political solution to the problem of East Pakistan and the rising number and cost of maintaining the refugees posed a problem to India. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi paid visits to France and America to explain the gravity of the situation. Confident of getting help from China and America, Yahaya intensified his "Crush India" campaign, moved the armed forces to the Indian border in both wings of Pakistan and finally, launched a pre-emptive air strikes on 8 Indian air fields. India retaliated by deep air strokes. War with Pakistan in both sectors began on 6 December, Government of India accorded recognition to Bangladesh. Security Council resolution calling for cease fire was vetod by Soviet Union a series of masterly planned and brilliantly occurred in 1555-56 in the northwest province. Hundreds of People died due to the epidemic disease that followed the famine. In 1573-75 another famine affected Gujarat. Yet another famine devastated Bengal in 1575. Kashmir experienced a cruel famine in 1595-96. Acute Famines afflicted Gujarat and the Deccan in 1630-32. The impact of this famine has been portrayed by Abdul Hamid Lagori as, "People killed one another to appease their starvation. "The flesh of the son was more in need to the father than his love and affection". The Muhal rulers started many famine relief activities. Huge amount of money was distributed among the have knots. Even the money collected as land tax was also spent on relief operations. However they were not successful in their activities.

19.1.1. Religious Conditions

Hinduism, just like Islam and Christianity, flourished, Sikhism secured a deep root in north India. Sufism originated during the Mughal perod. The several sub-sects in Hinduism did not get proper patronage. Only the smartha secured a strong hold in north India. The Tantric doctrine of saivism too survived along. Vaishnavism was followed deeply in Mahrashtra and Bengal. The Marathas exalted the doctrines of Eknath, Thukkaram and Ramadoss. Bhagaths registered a progress in Mysore. Saithanya's preachings were propagated in South India.

Kabir's songs were compiled in 1570. After the assassination of Guru Arjun Singh, the fifth Guru, the Sikhs united together. They took revenge upon the Muslims and drove away their Khalsa army. Several of the Sikh Gurus composed songs which had been compiled in those days. As days rolled by, several of the Hindu principles have been adapted compiled in those days. As days rolled by, several of the Hindu principles have been adapted by Sikhism too. Forced conversions led to confusions and restlessness in the nation.

19.2. INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA

19.2.1. Tibetan issue

The government of India adopted a temperate line. It asked the Chinese to settle the matter with the Tibetans any peaceful negotiations. It was failed but firm on 25 October 1950, the peoples army units have been ordered to advance into Tibet. India protested strongly. The Red China made it clear that Tibet was an integral part of the Chinese territory and the problem of Tibet was entirely a domestic problem of China and it made it clear that no foreign interference shall be tolerated. India took no effective steps to stop the march of Chinese armies into Tibet and consequently the Tibetans were left alone to their fate. When Tibet was conquered by the Chinese troops India entered into a treaty with Communist China in 1951. The treaty provided that the Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet. The Tibetan people shall return to the big family of Motherland the people Republic of China.

In 1954 a treaty of friendship was signed between India and China. By that treaty India and China pledged themselves to follow the five principles in their relations with each other. Those were the mutual recognition of each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non aggression, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. These principles came to be known as Pancha-Shila. India gave up all the territorial rights enjoyed by the British government in Tibet. The Indian military posts at Yatung and Gyantse were to be with drawn. The Indian pilgrims were to be provided facilities by India to the Tibetans. Chou-in-lai, Prime Minister of Communist China visited Delhi in June 1954, There was a talk of Hindi chini Bhai. Inspite of this the Chinese officially protested on 17th July 1954 against the presence of Indian troops in Bragoti, in the Indian state of Uttara Pradesh. They want to give Bargoti a Chinese name. Obviously the Chinese were making a claim to a territory which was absolutely Indians. Inspite of this provocation there was no religious action on behalf of the government of India. At his time maps were published in China which showed 50,000 square mills of Indian territory are Chinese territory. When Nehru visited China in October 1954 he brought this fact to the notice of Chou-in-lai. He got reluctant reply.

In 1955 April Nehru proposed Chou-in-lai to the heads of the 29 nations at Baudung Conferent Communist China was given a special treatment but it appears it had no effect on her attitudes towards India. In June 1955 the Chinese troops set up a camp at Barahoti. They came down 10 miles south of the Nitipass and challenged the Indian patrols. In 1956 they entered Nilangara in UttarPradesh. Six months after wards Chinese troops entered India through the shipki pass. Inspite of all these provocations Indian government took no action except forwarding protest notes to China. When Chou-in-lai visited Delhi in 1956&1957 it was decided that while there were no disputes regarding the border, there were certain petty problems which should be settled amicably. In 1956 the Khampa tribesmen of south east Tibet began a guerilla revolt against the Chinese. the same year Dalai Lama visited India in connection with the 2500th Mahaparinivana of Buddha. Although he was not prepared to go back but he was persuaded to do so by the Indian government. He was asked to attend at Peking the people's congress but he refused to do so with fear on 17 March 1959 there was a revolt against the Chinese in Lhasa and Dalai Lama fled and took shelter in India. It was in this way that the Chinese occupations in Tibet became complete.

The occupation of Tibet by China was diplomatic defeat to India. For centuries Tibet had served as a buffer state between India and China and after the occupation of Tibet, the borders of china reached the borders of India and it endangered the safety to India. The direct access to Tibet is easy from the East but the roads through it have to pass through a very difficult terrain. China constructed a major road connecting yarkand and Khotan with Rudok, Gartok and finally Taklakot, a trade and agriculture centre of long recognized strategic interest. Just north of the point where the borders of Tibet. Nepal and India meet. During the days of friendship with China this road was completed by China without any oppositions and by 1958 China occupied over 6000sq miles of Indian territory. There were many violations of the Indian border by the Chinese from time to time. From 27 September 1958 to 6th October 1959 many places on 9th November 1959 Chou-in-lai proposed withdrawal of troops by both the sides 12½ miles on each side of the positions held by both the countries at that time and also urged early talks to discuss the border issue. He rejected the Indian proposal in the neutralizations of the disputed areas in Ladakh China continued to occupy Indian territory and claimed 15000 sq miles of territory of Bhutan and put forward her claim to negotiate directly with Bhutan.

19.2.2. NEFA

Though there had been Chinese intrusions from time to time the relations between India and China got very much strained after India gave political asylum to Dalailama. The war clouds began to gather over Ladakh and NEFA. In April 1961 the Chinese intruded into Sikkim in May into Chughul area of Ladadh and in July in to the Kaweng Division of NEFA. In January 1962 the Chinese crossed over near Longsu in to NEFA. Later they entered to Ladakh. In July 1962 the Indian post in the Galwan valley was surrounded by the Chinese on 8th September 1962 the Chinese launched a massive attack on in NEFA border and open fire on Indian guards. In October 1962 a full fledged war took place between China and India and that proved disastrous for Indians. China declared cease fire. At the cease fire on Sri Lanka's initiative the representatives of China, India and other Afro-Asian countries met at Colombo to solve their differences. The Afro-Asian Countries submitted the Colombo plan but China rejected it. So even now China occupied a vast area near about 12,000 sq. miles of the Indian territory. About the Chinese war president Radha Krishnan says that 'the Indian reverses in NEFA should be regarded as a matter of sorrow shame and mediation and such thing, should not be repeated. Our army has to be reoriented and refashioned according to the latest canons of military science. We have to retrieve our lost prestige. On 27 October 1962 Prime Minister Nehru wrote thus to Chou-in-lai. "Nothing in my long political career has hurt and grieved me more than the fact that the hopes and aspirations for peaceful and friendly neighborly relations which we entertained and to promote which my colleagues in the government of India and myself worked so hard have been shattered by the hostile and unfriendly twist given to India-China's relations during the past two years".

Many reasons have been given for the cease fire by China. One view is that China withdrew on account of pressure from Moscow. Another view in that China feared an attack on in mainland from the National government in Formosa. Another view is there was food shortage in China and it was afraid that food supplies from Canada and Australia might be cut off. The World opinions also was against China. A very important reason for war was USA and UK promised

India military help. Mention must be made of certain facts concerning the war between India and China. In non-aligned Afro-Asian countries remained non-aligned in the hour of India's need and advised to negotiate for cease fire. The Indian troops hurriedly called to the front and completely unfamiliar with the terrain held a Chinese army five times larger in member preparing their attack for months and possessing fire power at least thrice more effective. India entered in war with out any preparation. The Chinese troops were given intensive training to fight under arctic conditions. Geography also helped them.

19.2.3. Support to Pakistan

During the Indo-Pak war China openly supported Pakistan. Before starting the war Ayubkhan went to Pijing in March 1965 to gain their support. China gave financial and military aid to her. when war was going on between India and Pakistan in September 1965 China gave an ultimatum to India on 17 September 1965. She demanded the removal with in three days of certain alleged Indian defense installations on the Chinese side of the Sikkim Border. When the ultimatum of three days expired, the same was extended for another three days. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri denied and rejected the Chinese allegations but for the sake of peace, agreed to accept an earlier Chinese proposal of joint inspections of the border to check up the allegations.

A survey of relationships between India and China shows that China was never enthusiastic about friendship with India. Nehru believed in a policy of peaceful co-existence and consequently followed a policy of friendship towards China. He did nothing to, Tibet when it was attacked by China. Even when there were slogans of Hindu-Chini Bhai Bhai the Chinese leaders had their own reservations. So long as it suited them they maintained good relations with India.

China is a friend of Pakistan and Pakistan and India are enemies. They have common hatred against Indian. Pakistan will never allow Peijing to come to an understanding with India and thereby weaken her position. After the Pakisthani defeat in 1971 China had done a lot to rehabilitate Pakistan military. The government of India has made many attempts to win over China and establish friendly relations but all those efforts have failed so far.

19.3. NON – ALIGNMENT

A leading British political philosopher once said, socialism was like a hat which had been worn by too many people and had consequently lost its shape.

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Explain NEFA
4. Write a note on the Non-Alignment Movement.
5. What is an OPEC

Similarly, non-alignment, which was started as a glorious and eminently acceptable doctrine of peaceful co-existence among states, and respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, has now declined and lost its original shape and contours.

19.3.1. Aim and Objectives

The great and glorious non-aligned movement was founded by Nehru (India). Nasser (Egypt) and Tito (Yugoslavia), during the early fifties of this century. The main aim of the founders of the non-aligned movement was not to join the defence treaties and pacts sponsored by super powers. It wanted to follow an independent foreign policy suited to terest and advancement of the non-aligned nations. The next important objective of this movement was to free those nations still suffering from colonial domination by certain imperialist powers and also to ensure that neo-colonialism and hegemonies are not introduced by the backdoor tactics of economic exploitation and ideological brain washing. The non-aligned countries decided to face the challenge of the power blocs by becoming self-reliant through co-operation, close friendship and mutual assistance.

The movement has contributed to the emergence of several colonial countries into sovereign independent nations in Asia. Africa and the Pacific. The non-aligned nations have also been putting up a brave fight against industrially advanced countries. Neo-colonialist form of economic exploitation, multination and covert intervention in the internal affairs of the newly independent nations.

In the twenty years since the foundation conference in Belgrade, the non-aligned movement has steadily attracted more and more members and the numerical strength has crossed 100 now Besides there are 21 observers and three guests on the rolls. In fact it has become the most favorite political style of a majority of the nations of the world. Even nations like Iran and Pakistan have severed links with multilateral military alliances and had been given full membership of the non-aligned club. Basically, the movement represents a loose coalition of like-minded countries sharing common views on anti-colonialism, anti-racism, peaceful co-existence, disarmament, and the latest manifestation of the Third World demands of economic justice. Infact, Non-alignment has become synonymous with the Third World. The main emphasis now is on economic issues.

Non-aligned nations form a club and not a bloc like the Western Military Bloc such as NATO or Soviet Military Bloc like Warsaw pact. The non-aligned nations are therefore not bound by common treaties and are not committed to common defence. They are only bound by certain common sentiments, aspirations and political philosophy. Hence they should be described as non-aligned club rather than non-aligned bloc. They are not committed to take common stand on all issues. On the other hand among the members of the non-aligned club bilateral conflicts regional rival groupings clashing economic interests prevail persistently. The rift between Egypt and Arab countries (Except Sudan and Oman) the Cambodian-Vietnam rivalry, the discord among the non-aligned nations over Indo-China. Indo-Pak rivalry can be cited to illustrate this view point. Yugoslavia has criticized Cuba for its military activities in Africa.

Infact the club of the non-aligned has even drifted away from the ideals and principles laid down by Nehru, Nassar and Tito. Expediency and immediate self interest have now taken the place of principles, and the common interests of the non-aligned community as a whole and of the movement are being sacrificed time and again. The rich nations contribute their mite for the development of countries which are their protégés and not to common development funds. In effect, the non-controversial problems and they are not to take up issues that touch some of the members themselves. Western colonialism, imperialism and apartheid are perhaps the only issues, besides the importance of setting up a new International Economic Order, and ensuring social and economic justice, which are left to be safely discussed as forms of the non-aligned group.

It was at the Colombo Conference of the Asian Prime Ministers on 25th April 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru said, "The main problem in the world is the continuing problem of cold war between the two blocs of big powers. Most of the countries represented at the Conference had attempted to follow a policy of non-alignment with these two great power blocs and to live their own life without dictation or compulsion from abroad". This was the first public occasion where the term "non-aligned' was used.

The Nehruvian conception of the non-aligned movement as a tendency in international politics moderating bi-polar tensions by creating a grey middle zone of peace and security was abandoned as romantic, Cliché-ridden dream. Since those days when the trinity of Nehru, Nassar and Tito attempted to provide the axis round which a proudly independent group of 25 would revolve. The movement had to catch up with, and adjust itself to more complex and sobering international realities. Belgrade (September 1973), Cairo (October 1969), Lusaka (September 1970), Algiers (September 1973), Colombo (August 1976), Havana (September 1979) and Delhi (March 1983) have held the non-aligned summit conferences. Yugoslavia laid emphasis on the theme of "equidistance between the Power blocs". Nehru and Nassar did not accept this theory. For example in 1960 in New York. Nehru declared that there was no question of balancing between blocs of nations and that such balancing was not what the non-aligned desired. Ultimately Nehru's view prevailed over Tito's.

19.3.2. The Sixth Summit

The sixth non-aligned summit session in Havana (cuba) ended well on 9th September 1979. Last-minute compromises saved th~ conference form a disastrous end. For several days the hotly debated issues of Egypt (arising from the Arab's joint and concerted move to boycott it for signing a bilateral peace treaty with (Israel), and of Kampuchea (Cambodia) following the conflicting stands by China and Vietnam, created deadlocks. Judging from the earlier sound and fury, especially, Cuba's sustained campaign to impart to the movement a distinct, ideological touch so as to make it socialist and a natural ally of Soviet Communism. Many people feared that the Havana summit would sound the death knell of non-alignment by eroding the very basis of that movement. But nothing of the kind happened and the net outcome is that the non-alignment has emerged virtually unscathed after the Havana meet. There were no catastrophic splits, no deviation from the basic principles of non alignment and no bending of the common understandings so hopefully enunciated by the founders of the movement. More or less an equal controversy over seating Kampuchea in the Summit, surfaced in the Delhi meet of September 1983 also. But, as in the Cuba meet, the issue was postponed to avoid a deliberate split among member nations. Further the Delhi meet was comparatively less pro-Soviet than the Cuba meet.

The familiar goals of non-alignment have been identified and be equally familiar enemies have again been listed. Like the communiqué issued after the Cario conference of 1969, the Havana Declaration named imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism as the main sources of international tension and conflict because they threaten peace and security of the world over. The fight against these sources has all along been the non-aligned nations, primary task, and this task was reiterated at Havana.

As on previous occasions, the non-aligned nations called for the immediate dismantling of imperialist military bases and the ending of military alliances. The Algiers Conference of the non-aligned also identified imperialism, colonialism, Zionism, racism and apartheid as the main enemies of the movement. Resisting pressures from the aggressive bloc, the overwhelming majority of the countries of the non-aligned bloc at their Colombo Session earlier in 1979 and at their Havana Summit in August, stressed the same point. They reiterated their resolve to carry on the struggle against all forms of colonial domination and other forms of domination and exploitation. It not only reiterated its desire to fight imperialism and colonialism which points to the West, but also "other forces that seek to perpetuate unequal relations" which should hit all those who attempt domination over others.

Thus, non-alignment has displayed a creditable consistency over the years. There is no tilt towards the socialist bloc, in spite of Cuba's sustained campaign at the Havana Summit to impart the movement a distinct ideological touch so as to make it socialist. The economic aspect of the Havana Declaration, calls for special notice. The justification of the Third World over the glaring economic in justices and the refusal of the highly industrialized and affluent nations to share their growing prosperity with the rest of the humanity, now finds expression at most international forums. The demand for a new international Economic Order has been reiterated at every international conference of the Third World and virtually ignored or by passed by richer nations.

19.3.3. OPEC

The North-South dialogue has now given place in part of a new phase, the South-south dialogue. The South-South dialogue is between the oil rich nations. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries-OPEC and the countries of the Third World which have to import oil since they have no or very little resources of their own. Consequently, a new group has emerged and is among the leaders of this group-comprising several Asian and African countries which find their economics being virtually crippled by the prohibitive cost of Petroleum products. The energy crisis, which was never envisaged even a decade ago, has now crippled the world. Third World is the hardest hit.

The group which dealt with economic issues at Havana was presided over by India. It made substantive recommendations and the Havana declaration adopted guidelines for co-operation among the non-aligned for the development of collective self-reliance among the developing countries. These guidelines urged the non-aligned countries to frame each other priority of supply for their exportable primary products to meet their respective minimum needs. A resolution requesting the oil predicting states to supply oil to non oil producer of the Third World was passed, but the precise implication of the commitment have yet to be worked out. Equally impressive is the reported accord by which OPEC would compensate the poorer countries for the high oil prices. Joint ventures and collective arrangement are envisaged for research and development. Two significant decisions reached at Havana have, infact, saved non-alignment from a virtual disaster. The decision on the issue of seating Kampuchea (Combodia) showed that the Russians and the Cubans could not bend the non-aligned countries. The decision was in effect a set-back to the Soviet Union. The issue was left undermined. Until the foreign ministers otherwise decide, the Kampuchean seat will remain vacant in the non-aligned group at all levels.

China's reaction to the Havana Declaration, and the summit outcome as a whole, indicated the significance of the events. It said: "The representative of democrat-Kampuchea was prevented from attending the summit as a result of the Cuban-Soviet tricks". Shelving an issue after all, is not a triumph for either party; It is only a means of saving a situation by avoiding a split for the time being.

The other important decision was on the question of Egypt. Ever since President Sadat signed a bilateral peace treaty with Israel, the other Arab countries have been planning a boycott of Egypt. At the Colombo Conference of non-aligned foreign ministers the Arabs sought expulsion of Egypt from the non-aligned club. India strongly resisted the move, and Mr.Morarji Desai, then Prime Minister, in a bold gesture towards Egypt, declared that he would not attend the Havana Summit if Egypt was expelled. The Colombo Conference deferred a decision and left it to the Havana Summit at which the question was discussed in detail with the Arab nations and their supporters strongly condemning the Egypt-Israel treaty. But the final communiqué did condemn the U.S. mediated treaty.

Most of the Arab participants expressed their grave displeasure with both U.S. and the President Sadat. The all-out move to expel Egypt from the non-aligned conference did not succeed; such an extreme step would have created much tension and caused a rift needlessly. The question has also been left to be decided by an adhoc committee 1981. However, it must be admitted, no compromise was possible on both issues of Kampuchea and Egypt. These two prickly problems were finally sidetracked but not for all time.

Another relevant decision was the call made by the non-aligned nations to break relations with countries which recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The declaration said the restoration of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty was an indispensable condition for a durable peace. The move was initiated by Pakistan and the exhortation was part of the 35,000 word Havana declaration. A total of 54 heads of states and about 45 foreign ministers representing 94 countries attended and elected Cuba and its leader, Mr.Fidel Castro, as Chairman for the next three years. Fidel Castro" Promise that his chairmanship in the next three years would not be benefit his country but the movement was a welcome assurance. Non alignment has thus survived a major crisis, thanks largely to Marshall Tito, the founder of the movement.

Many believe that the cold war between the Super Powers has ended the era of détente. In fact cold war has not ended as believed by many because the Super Powers are still waging a ding-dong battle by covert and overt means and also through their proxies especially in the Third World as for example in Afghanistan in 1980, to extend their spheres of influence. Likewise the empire creating colonialism of the early era has been replaced by the neo-colonialism in the form of economic exploitation and veiled domination which a had become the new political style of Super-Powers as well as pronounced characteristic of the present day international system. Non-alignment club played a significant role in shaping the new element of détente and still the continued existence of this bloc is necessary to fulfill the goals of détente as well as to contain and check the neo colonization of the Super-Powers. Infect for the preservation of the political independence and sovereignty of the nations as well as their independent economic development especially of those countries belonging to the Third World, non-alignment philosophy is a political necessity and indispensable, India, as one of the founders of the movement. has a great responsibility to keep the movement alive and kicking.

19.4 LET US SUM UP

This unit attempts to provide details about the neighbouring countries of India and the Non-Alignment movement founded by Nehru. This policy makes a glorious and eminently acceptable doctrine of peaceful co-existence among States, and respect for each other territorial integrity and sovereignty. It played a significant role in shaping the new element of détente and still the continued existence. Our neighbouring countries like Pakistan and China clash with India for territorial gain. Our country's external relation is based on certain principles and polices. At the time of her independence the world was divided into two hostile blocks. These development created on atmosphere of tension, distrust and suspicions in the form of cold war. In this situation India choose the policy of Non-alignment. Non-Alignment means not joining any of power blocks and at the same time, it does not imply isolation from world affairs. Now the policy is followed by about 125 countries in world. This policy has been useful in reducing international tension and in promoting peace. One of our neighbours Pakistan conflicts with India for Kashmir. The Prime Ministers of India and the Presidents of Pakistan are still finding it difficult to find a peaceful solution to this long drawn issue. Another neighbour of India in the North, East is China. Of there is steady improvements in Sino-Indian relations.

19.5. KEY WORDS

Plebiscites	-	Referendum
Emboldened	-	Make braver
Infiltrators	-	Secretly gradually gain access to a group.
Provocation	-	Stir up to do something
Buffer	-	A person or thing that lessons the impact of harmful effects
Antiracism	-	Race against

19.6 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Questions No.1	Refer Section No.19.1
For Questions No.2	Refer Section No.19.2.1
For Questions No.3	Refer Section No.19.2.2
For Questions No.4	Refer Section No.19.3
For Questions No.5	Refer Section No.19.3.3

19.7. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **B.V.Rao.,** - **International relations.**
2. **Fay,** - **International relations.**
3. **John Gilbert,** - **Contemporary History of India.**
4. **Ray Choudry,** - **History of Modern India.**

19.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISE

1. Write an essay on the role of Non Aligned countries in the world.
2. What led to Sino Indian conflict? What were its consequences?

LESSON - 20

THE INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
THE INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Space for Hints

INTRODUCTION

India's relations with U.S.A. in the beginning was very cordial in the beginning. But the Indo-American relation had a bad start when the views of the two countries clashed on various international issues. For example when India took the Kashmir case to the security council in January, 1948, U.S.A adopted anti-Indian attitude. But India preferred to follow a policy of NAM. India had practically no relations with Soviet Union before independence. She had merely expressed sympathy for Soviet Union when Germany attacked her in 1941. After independence cordial relations could be developed between the two. However, after some time the relations between U.S.S.R and India began to improve. Russia and India both are keen to maintain the cordial relation with each other though the former is not in a position to extend financial support to India.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit, the student will able to

- Understand the Indo American relation
- Recognize and study the Indo-soviet friendship.

UNIT STRUCTURE

20.1 India's Relationship with United States of America
    20.1.1 Manila Treaty
    20.1.2 NEFA
    20.1.3. Indo Palk Talks
20.2. The relations between India and Soviet Union.
    20.2.1 Cultural relations
20.3. Let us sum up
20.4 Key Words
20.5 Answer for CYP Questions
20.6 Books for Further Readings
20.7 Questions and Exercises

20.1 INDIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH USA

There have been differences between India and the United States in the beginning because the early contacts of the two countries were very few. In spite of all this USA enjoyed good will in India after the end of Second World War, that was partly due to the support and sympathy received from the USA during India's Freedom struggle. It was well known fact that President Roosevelt had put pressure on Prime-minister Churchill to grant India independence. There were also many Americans who were advocating the cause of India's independence. When Jawaharlal Nehru formed the interim government in September 1946 first of all the Americans sent greetings to him. Many Americans like Louis Fisher India were in favor of close relations between India and the United States. After independence India had cordial relations with America.

But under President Truman a new relationship too began to develop between the two countries which was not entirely cordial. The United States did not like the non-alignment policy of India. Hence it supported Pakistan on Kasmir issue. Although the government of India wrought the matter before the security council in 1948.

Differences also arose between the countries regarding Communist China. This Communist China came in to existence on first October 1949 and India recognized it in December 1949. American did not like this and considered Formosa under the National government of Chiang Kai Shek as the real one. Again India opposed all kinds of Colonialism and imperialism. America encouraged them. There were policy differences on Korea. India refused to welcome a full-fledged participant in the united Nations command. When the American forces crossed the 38th Parallel in Korea in spite of warnings from India, There was a lot of anti-American feeling in India.

In spite of all differences the U.S.A. continues to help economically. President Eisenhower was in power from 1952 to 1960. During this period USA put forward the doctrine of "Massive retaliations" According to him "The Protection of the free world should be primarily based on American great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our own choosing". This has been called a policy of "Brink Man ship". Prime Minister Nehru was opposed to the idea of military alliances and he was not prepared to enter into any military alliance with the United States. Consequently the United States decided to enter in to military alliance with Pakistan. Nehru opposed it on the ground that would bring the cold war between India and Pakistan at the borders and its repercussions have not only in India but also in the whole of South East Asia. In spite of his oppositions in 1954 America entered military alliance with Pakistan and her military aid. The American government has tried to remove the fears of India by giving up an assurance that the America arms supplied to Pakistan would not be used against India and if Pakistan did so the USA would rush to assist India. But Nehru did not like this attitude and denounced the American pact with Pakistan. That produced a strong reaction in America.

20.1.1. Manila treaty

India refused to allow American planes to fly over India enroot to Indo-China. There was demand in the USA that economic assistance to India be reduced. That created the impressions that Americans economic assistances had political strings attached to it. There was a lot of resentment in the USA when India signed a Treaty with China regarding Tibet in 1954. There was further bitterness when Premier Chou-en-lai was received in Delhi in June 1954. Nehru also attacked the SEATO or Manila Treaty. He said that his treaty would create new tensions in the region. The charges of Imperialism annoyed the Americans as a result the relationship between the two countries remained strained during 1955-56.

From 1948 to 1955 the Soviet Union had remained on the issue of Kashmir in Security council. Now it decided to support India and also started to give economic assistance to India. Nehru was invited to the Soviet Union and he visited in 1955. President Bulganin and Khrushchev paid a return visit and support India on the question of Kashmir and Goa. Secretary of USA Dulles declared in reply that Goa, Daman and Diu were Portuguese province. This infuriated public opinion in India. His statement was discussed in some Asian countries as "One of the greatest diplomatic wonders in modern history". From 1956 onwards the relations began to improve between India and USA. In August 1956 America entered into an agreement with Indian Government in the supply of wheat, rice, cotton etc provided on loan basis. Towards the end of 1956 the USA successfully intervened in the Suez episode and this act was appreciated in India.

President Kennedy came to power in 1960. He was very popular in India. Prof J.K.Galbraith became American Ambassader in India. India co-operated with the USA in Congo, Laos and the United Nations. In November 1961 Nehru paid a visit to the USA and had many lengthy talks with President Kennedy. It seems to establish a sense of Indo US relationship. However when India seized Goa in December 1961 once again India-US relations were very much strained. India's action was condemned strongly and bitterly attacked India in United Nations on the ground of Practicing aggressions and it also postponed the consideration of economic aid to India. But later it was resumed.

20.1.2. NEFA

Indo American relations suddenly changed when on October 1962 the Chinese troops invaded India. In a short time the Chinese made advances in Ladaka and NEFA and were threatening Assam. Nehru was shocked. He asked military assistance to the USA and other western countries. Galbraith proposed to support India. His proposal was accepted in USA government. The American arms air lift to India started on 3 November 1962. The initial provision of military assistance was made under section 503 of the Foreign Assistance Act 1961. India agreed to allow in USA inspecting rights, but also agreed not to use the military equipment except against a direct attack of China.

After the Chinese ceasefire, President Kennedy had to face problem of handling Nehru's request for long term assistance to India to help her to build up her defence capability to deal effectively with any further Chinese aggressions. In order to assess the real requirements of India in arms and to study the impact of American aid on Pakistan a mission was sent under the leadership of Harriman to India on 21 November 1962. Even U.K. also sent same type of mission under the leadership of Duncan Sandays. The joint assistance programme started.

While the American arms began to flow into India, Pakistan started protesting. As the Pakistan pressure mounted, there was greater pressures from the USA and Uk on India to settle the Kashmir issue on 27 October 1962, a day after Nehru's request for military assistance against Communist China in to the united Nations. This shocked the American Press. It denounced this note as "Shocking beyond reasonable explanation'. It was discreditable that India should continue to support china', while the Himalyas snows are stained with Indian blood.

In March 1963 Nehru sent two personal emissaries to the USA to canvas for more military assistance. In April Finance minister Krishnachari went for the same purpose. He was followed by Indira Gandhi, but nothing came out.

20.1.3. Indo Pak talk

On 21st May 1963 Secretary of State Dean Rusk visited New Delhi to study the progress of Indo-pak talks. This war followed by Kennedy-max-millan meeting in united kingdom in June 1963. The two statesmen reaffirmed their policy of continuing to help India by providing" further military aid to strengthen its defence against the Chinese attack. With minor excepting, public opinion in the United States was sympathetic towards India and it backed the decision of Kennedy. Nehru also asked financial assistance for Bokaro project to president Kennedy. President Kennedy strongly recommended military assistance and also aid to build the fourth steel planted Bokaro. But American Congress was not in favour of financial aid for a single project. Therefore the government of India officially withdrew the request for American assistance for Bokaro. At this time the Soviet union stepped in with an offer for aid for Bokaro.

In April 1964, Prime Minister Nehru sent his daughter Indira Gandhi to Washington as his personal envoy to President Johnson and in his personal letter he tried to point out how the Sino-Pak collusion was going to hurt India and America. The United States Continued economic assistance to India.

During the war between India and Pakistan in 1965 America openly supported Pakistan. At the time of the Bangaladesh crisis is 1971 American attitude in friendly with Pakistan and hostile towards India. Inspite of the atrocities committed by the Pakistani troops in East Pakistan. The American government refused to put pressure on Pakistan to come to a political settlement with the people of East Pakistan. Even when lakhs of people left East Pakistan and India raised a lot of hue and no action was taken by the American government. Even the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi went to the United States in November 1971 to make it clear the necessity of interference. but the American government did not move in the matter on the other hand when the war started between India and Pakistan. In December 1971 the American government stopped the economic assistance to India and also the supply of war materials. President Nixon ordered U.S.A. to proceed to the Bay of Bengal to help the Pakistani forces. The relations between the two countries became very bitter and continued to be bitter for a pretty long time. There is again a change in American policy towards India and this is indicated by the Visit of Dr.Kissinger to India in October 1974 and the decision of the two governments to explore the areas of common interest and the setting up of a joint commissions on economic commercial, scientific, technological, educational and cultural co-operation. The commission has the power to appoint sub-commissions and other bodies as may be necessary to carry

Check Your Progress Question

1. What is NEFA?
2. Explain Manila treaty?

out the objects of the agreement and to submit mutually agreed findings to both governments.

20.2. RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND SOVIET UNION

When India became independent she was recognized by the Soviet Union but so long as Stalin lived the relations between the two countries were not cordial. They considered India under Nehru was considered to be an imperialist power. The Communist party of India started a violent struggle in South India against the Indian government. In January 1948, the Soviet Union did not support India on the question of Kashmir. In spite of Russians disapproval India approved of the Dutch-Indonesian independence agreement in December 1949.

However, during this period, India recognized Communist China and played a positive role to end the Korean War. She supported the soviet resolution in the United Nations for a cease fire in Korea and refused to brand China as an aggressor. She tried to check the advance of the United Nations forces in to the interior of China. In 1950-51, the Soviet Union sent five ship loads of food grains to help India. In 1952 a Bolshevik troops was invited by Prime Minister Nehru from the Soviet Union. Dr.Radha Krishnan the Indian Ambassador in Moscow created a favourable impression in that country. In spite of all this, the relations between the two countries were not friendly till the death of Stalin in March 1953.

After the death of Stalin the Soviet Union took the initiative to improve her relations with India. When Khrushchev came to power in the Soviet Union, he establish friendly relations with India. Pakistan's military ties with America brought Russia to a close co-operation with India. Prime Minister Nehru made a state visit to the Soviet Union in 1955 he received a rousing welcome. It is stated that the reception which the Soviet masses gave to Nehru was unprecedented in the history of the Soviet public life till then. In November-December 1955, Bulganin and Khrushchev-paid a state visit to India. There were huge crowd to welcome them. It is stated that the reception which the soviet leaders received in India was unparalleled for a representative of the Kremlin to receive abroad.

Khrubhchev declared that the questions of Kashmir as one of the State of the Republic of India had already been decided by people of Kashmir. Bulganin declared that there was no justification for the Portuguese colony of goa to exist on the Soviet of India. Addressing the Indian parliament Bulganin observed. "The soviet people highly appreciated India's contribution to the cause of world peace." India's efforts at Korea to bring about a settlement received high praise from the Soviet leaders and as a result friendship flourished between these two countries.

For the first four years of the United Nations debate on Kashmir, the Soviet Union had remained silent. However in 1952 Jacob Malik, the Soviet U.N. representative attacked the UN proposals for Kashmir as "Annexationist, imperialist plans of UK and USA. The Purpose of the plans is to secure the introduction of Anglo-American troops into the territory of Kashmir and Convert Kashmir into an Anglo-American colony and a military base. IN 1962 the Soviet Union vetoed the UN resolution on Kashmir. By the end of the fifties India became a focal point of Soviet interest in the Afro-Asian world. An account of her effective role in the Korean War, at the Geneva conference of 1954 in the suez crisis and in organizing the Bandung Conference, Indian diplomacy had gained a certain stature in the eyes of the Soviet Union.

During Indo-China War Russia took a neutral stand since Red China (Communist China) has been her military ally ever since her creation. Russia was not prepared to condemn Red China. Again she did not want to lose the India friendship between 1962 and 1965 the Soviet leaders were in a dilemma whether to support. India or Pakistan in the sub-continental issues. However they decided to adopt a neutral and non portion attitude. Therefore when war broke out between India and Pakistan in 1965 Russia took a neutral stand. However she warned the consequences of interference of other power. After the hostilities were ended premier Kosygin invited Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri and president Ayubkhan to Tashkent for the restoration of the friendly relations between the two countries and he succeeded to some extent in that object. Soon after the signing of the Tashkant Declaration Lal Bahadur Sastri died at Tashkant and Kosygin came to Delhi along with the dead body of Sastri to attend the funeral.

In 1968 India condemned the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. There was a strained relationship between India and Soviet Union. This was set right when Indira Gandhi came to power in 1971. In 1971 the Bangladesh crisis arose. The Soviet Union put pressure as Yahya Khan to arrive at a political settlement of the Bangaladesh issue. Russia openly supported India's stand. The Pakistan government was asked to take immediate measures to end "The Continuing flood of refugees in to India" and backed a political solution of the problem. With in eight months of the eruption of the Bangladesh problem the soviet foreign minister and president visited Delhi and the India foreign Minister

Check Your Progress Questions

3. Write a short note an Indo-Pakistan war.

and Prime Minister visited Moscow in 1971. Indira Gandhi concluded the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation for 20 years. This marked the beginning of a new chapter in the Indo-soviet relationship. By this treaty both the countries agreed to respect each others territory and the foreign policy, to maintain contacts with each other to co-operate with each other in solving important international problems, not to participate in military alliance directed against the other party, to consult each other in case of an attack or threat there of the parties shall immediately enter in to mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate steps to ensure peace and security of their countries.

This treaty was important to India and it was first treaty ever made with a super power. This treaty served as a deterrent against Pakistan carrying out its threat of war against India by this agreement the Sino-American intervention in the event of an Indo-Pak war as safely ruled out. During the war America tried to introduce a number of resolutions in Security Council against India all were valued by Russia. The Soviet Union stood by India throughout the struggle. This treaty was in the interests of both the countries. The Soviet Union needed India's friendship as much as India needed the friendship of the Soviet Union. During the Janata rule the external affairs Minister Sree Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Russia and reaffirmed India's willingness to co-operate with each other and to cultivate a friendly relationship.

20.2.1. Cultural Relations

Indo-Soviet relations officially began after a successful termination of the struggle for freedom in India in 1947. But the first abiding cultural contact was effected by Gerasiom Lebedev, the father of Russian Ideology who visited India for a twelve times from 1785 to 1797. He learnt Sanskrit, Tamil and Bengali. He adopted music and drama as the proper field for his creating art the most important thing is that he was the first European who not only studied Bengali but wrote plays in that language and staged them in Calcutta.

From the middle of the 19th Century number of Russian Scholars took interest in India Cultural research. viz Minaeb, Paghimo, petrov, Kossaibich, Zhukovshy, Karanunizin etc and numerous artists who deepened the cultural contacts between India and Russia. They were Saltyokov, Kazarin, Somokish and enko.

In 18th and 19th Century Sanskrit classics including the works of Kalidasa were translated in to Russian and chairs for studying Sanskrit were established before the October Revolution. After the revolution the works of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy had been read in India through English. Tolstoy and Gandhi had corresponded on humanitarian principles. The works of Tagore translated in to Russian. After Independence the works of Indian authors like Subramaniya Bharati, Premchand, Yashpal, Mulkaraj Anand and Krishna Chander were translated into Russian. Later the exchange of delegations political as well as cultural took place. In June 1951 the poet Harindranath Cahttopadhyaya led a delegation of India artists, another delegation of India scientists led by the famous surgeon of Bombay Dr.A.V. Baliga arrived in Moscow. They visited important place and studied their arts and stage. Nehru and Smt. Sarojini Naidu formed the friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) in 1941. It promoted voluntary educational friendship between the two peoples.

Later on March in 1952 Dr. Baliga founded the Indo-Soviet Society (ISCUS). In the same month a Soviet delegation of artists arrived in New Delhi under the leadership of A.G.Zmoshkin. An exhibition of paintings of Soviet artists war held the Indian artists came direct with the trends and the Ruskins also gained a lot from contact with Indians. Then followed a series of such exchanger of visits of the people of different pursuits and vocations. In 1952, 1953 more than a dozen delegations visited in Soviet towns. Indian dancers, Musicians became exceedingly popular. In 1954 a great troop of Soviet musician and dances comprising 31 delegates held by soviet Deputy minister for culture N. Besplov.

Indian films of Rajkapoor's Awara was shown in the towns and Rajkapoor became the idol of cinema-goers in the USSR and the same manner Bimal Rosi do Bigha Zamin gave very good receptions. Dr.S. Radha Krishnans work on the Indian philosophy was translated into Russian and published in 1956. In 1957 the second film festival of soviet films held in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay which left on Indian mind an unforgettable appreciation. In June 1957 in national conference of orient lists held in Tashkent to discuss the problems Indology. There has been a continuous reciprocal flow of delegation which have brought the people of the two countries together and has created an unbreakable bond between them. Number of cultural agreements signed by both governments. The first was the Indo-Soviet cultural Agreement signed in 1960. This was organized on an annual basis of programme-exchanges of scientists, Students, writers and artist. Under this agreement a great number of Indian scientists visited for research to Russia. In 1961 the Soviet children's Theatre of Moscow presented Ramayana Ballet. In 1962 congress of peace and Disarmament was held in Moscow a great member of writers and artists attended in the Indian delegation included among others, Scientists and writers like K.K.Kosambi. Mulk Raj Anand, R.K. Karanisia, Shivdan Singh chaubar, P.N. Saporue, Dr.Tarachand and others.

Along with exhibitions, screening of films, striking stamps instituted awards also. Soviet Union instituted a distinguished award in the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru dearly loved by the Soviet people, called in "Soviet land Nehru Awards for the distinction publications in the field of literature and Journalisms relating peace and friendship between the two countries. The same award was reciprocated by India which started in 1967 for Nehru award to outstanding literary and artistic works devoted to Indo-Soviet relations celebration and festivals held in both the countries.

Kalidasa's week celebrations at Ujjain celebrated at Russia and Struck a stamp in honor of the great Indian author in 1968 the birth century of Marin Gorky was celebrated in India with great enthusiasm and issued stamp on March 28. In 1969 both celebrated the century, next came the fifth Century of Gandhi on October 2 of the same year both in countries celebrate with resounding éclat seminars were held on the doctrine of Gandhi. Both India and Russia released stamps.

A member of the USSR universities teach Indian languages besides Indian classics. The Indian universities also teach Russian language. The Soviet Unions co-operation with India in its efforts the technological self reliance as providing the much needed technical assistance has been helpful in economic field.

20.3 LET US SUM UP

Indo – US relations are very co-operative in field of trade, science, and technology. India got help from Russia. India has also maintained good contact with the rest of the countries of the world. America wanted India to counterbalance the rise of Communist China. Henry Grady, the U.S. Ambasidor in India had said as for back as December 1, 1947 that is "tremendously important to keep India at our side in the world struggle".

But the Indo American relations had a bad start. The views of the two countries clashed an various international issues, for example when India took the Kashmir problem to the security council in Jan 1948. The differences were widened due to attitude the two countries on various issues. For e,g. the kargil conflict with Pakistan in June – July 1999. She is also pressing India to sign CTBT. It may be noted that relations between two countries are not very warm as far.

Till independence India had less relations with soviet union. Even after independence for some time the relations between the could not be cordial because of India's decision to join commonwealth. However after some time. The two countries amicably resolved so many outstanding issues and signed several agreements covering defense science and technology, environments etc. As of now the relations between the two nations are very cordial.

20.4 KEY WORDS

Massive - big and heavy
Emissaries - Secret messenger

20.5 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1 Refer Section No.20.1.2
For Question No.2 Refer Section No.20.1.1
For Question No.3 Refer Section No.20.1.3

20.6 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. **L.M.Srivastava.,** - International relations (From 1914 to present day)
2. **L.M.Srivastava.,** - Indian constitution and united nations

20.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISE

1. Briefly review the Indo – American relations since independence.
2. "The Indo – soviet Treaty (August 1971) met the basic national interest of both the states as well as the interest of lasting peace in Asia and the world" comment.

MODEL QUESTION PAPER

B.A., Degree Examination Second Year

Part III – Branch I (a) History Main

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA (From 1526 to 1965)

Time : Three Hours **Maximum : 100 Marks**

Answer Question No. I and Four others

All Questions carry equal marks. **(5 x 20 = 100)**

1. **Out line the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji and indicate on the accompanying map the extent of his empire. OR**

   Describe the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and indicate on the accompanying map the important places connected with it.
2. **Explain the religious policy of Akbar?**
3. **Describe the causes for the downfall of the Mughal Empire?**
4. **Sketch the career and achievements of Shivaji.**
5. **Discuss the foreign policy of India after independence.**
6. **Explain the aims and achievements of the Home Rule Movement.**
7. **Assess the importance the Non-Co operation Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi.**
8. **Assess the role of Balagangadhara Tilak to India's Freedom Struggle.**
9. **Explain the back ground of the Quit India Movement and assess its effects.**
10. **Estimate the services of Jawaharlal Nehru to India.**

MODEL QUESTION PAPER

B.A., Degree Examination Second Year

Part III – Branch I (a) History Main

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA (From 1526 to 1965)

Time : Three Hours **Maximum : 100 Marks**

Answer Question No. I and Four others

All Questions carry equal marks. **(5 x 20 = 100)**

1. Mark on the outline map provided the extent of the Mughal Empire under Aurangazeb and point out the important places.

   OR

   Mark on the outline map provided the extent of the empire under Shivaji and point out the important places.

2. Bring out the contribution of Mughals to art and architecture.

3. Describe the causes and results of the political extinction of the British East India Company in 1858.

4. What were the factors which helped for the rise of Indian National Movement?

5. Assess the role of Tilak in the freedom struggle.

6. Estimate the services rendered by Mahatma Gandhi for the cause of India's Independence.

7. Describe the salient features of the Indian Constitution.

8. Estimate the important achievements under the administration of Lal Bahadur Sastri.

9. Discuss the India's policy of Non-alignment.

10. Write an essay on Indo-Soviet Friendship.

MODEL QUESTION PAPER

B.A., Degree Examination Second Year

Part III – Branch I (a) History Main

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA (From 1526 to 1965)

Time : Three Hours **Maximum : 100 Marks**

Answer Question No. I and Four others

All Questions carry equal marks. **(5 x 20 = 100)**

1. a) Mark on the outline map provided the extent of Akbar's Empire and point out the following places:

Delhi Agra Ajmar Allahabad Multan Udaipur Chittoor
Oudh Kandesh Kabul

Or

b) Mark on the outline map provided the boundaries of India and Pakistan and point out the following places:

Delhi Ajmer Ahmedabad Bhopal Calcutta Nagpur
Hyderabad Chennai Mumbai Sri Nagar

2. What were the political condition of North India on the eve of Babur's invasion?

3. Give and account of the art and architecture of the Mughals.

4. Examine the causes for the failure of the French in India.

5. Analyse the administrative system of Marathas under Peshwas.

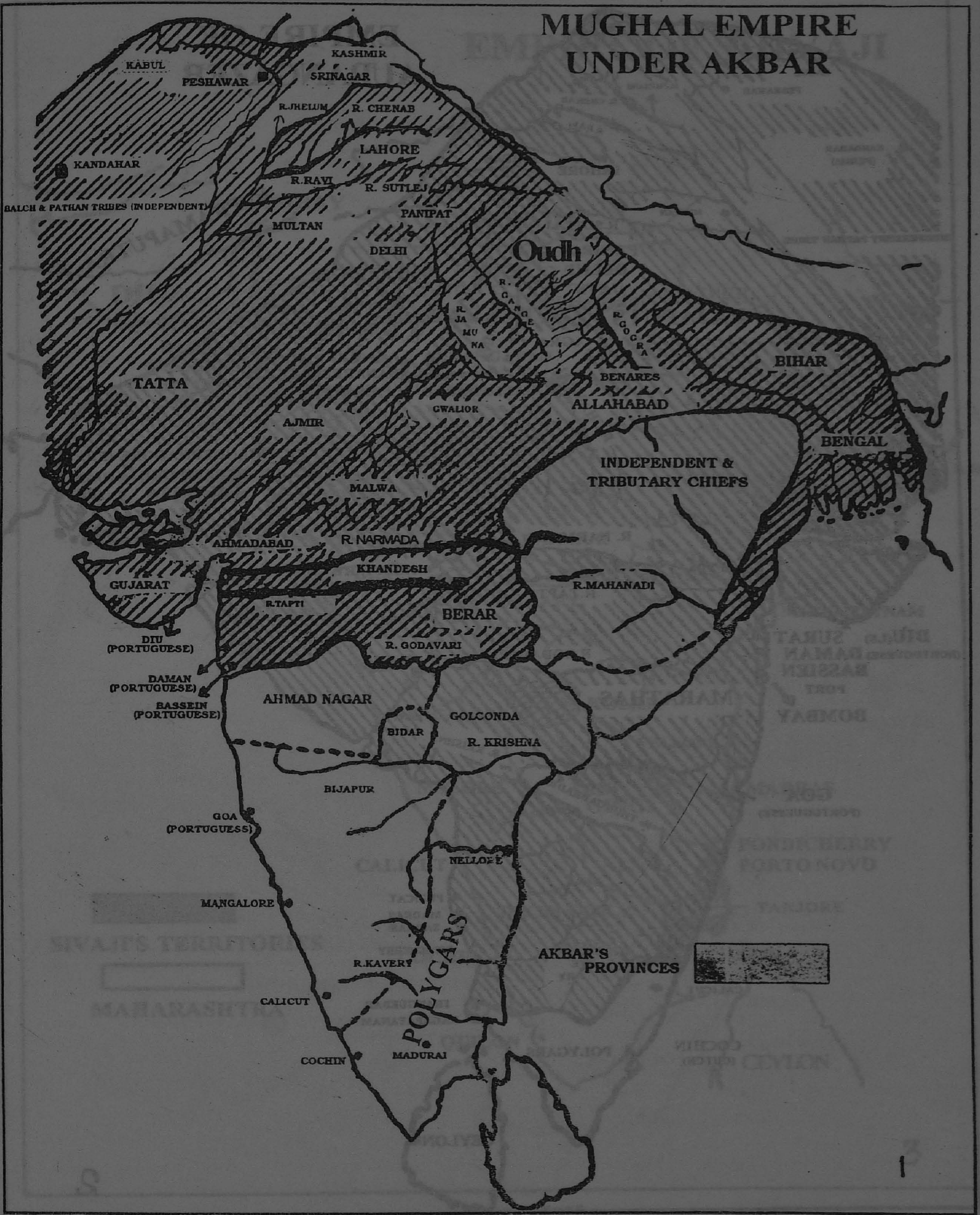
6. What were the causes for the Great Revolt of 1857?

7. Estimate the achievements of Robert Clive in India.

8. Discuss the origin of the Indian National Congress.

9. Explain the clash of India with Pakistan over Kashmir issue.

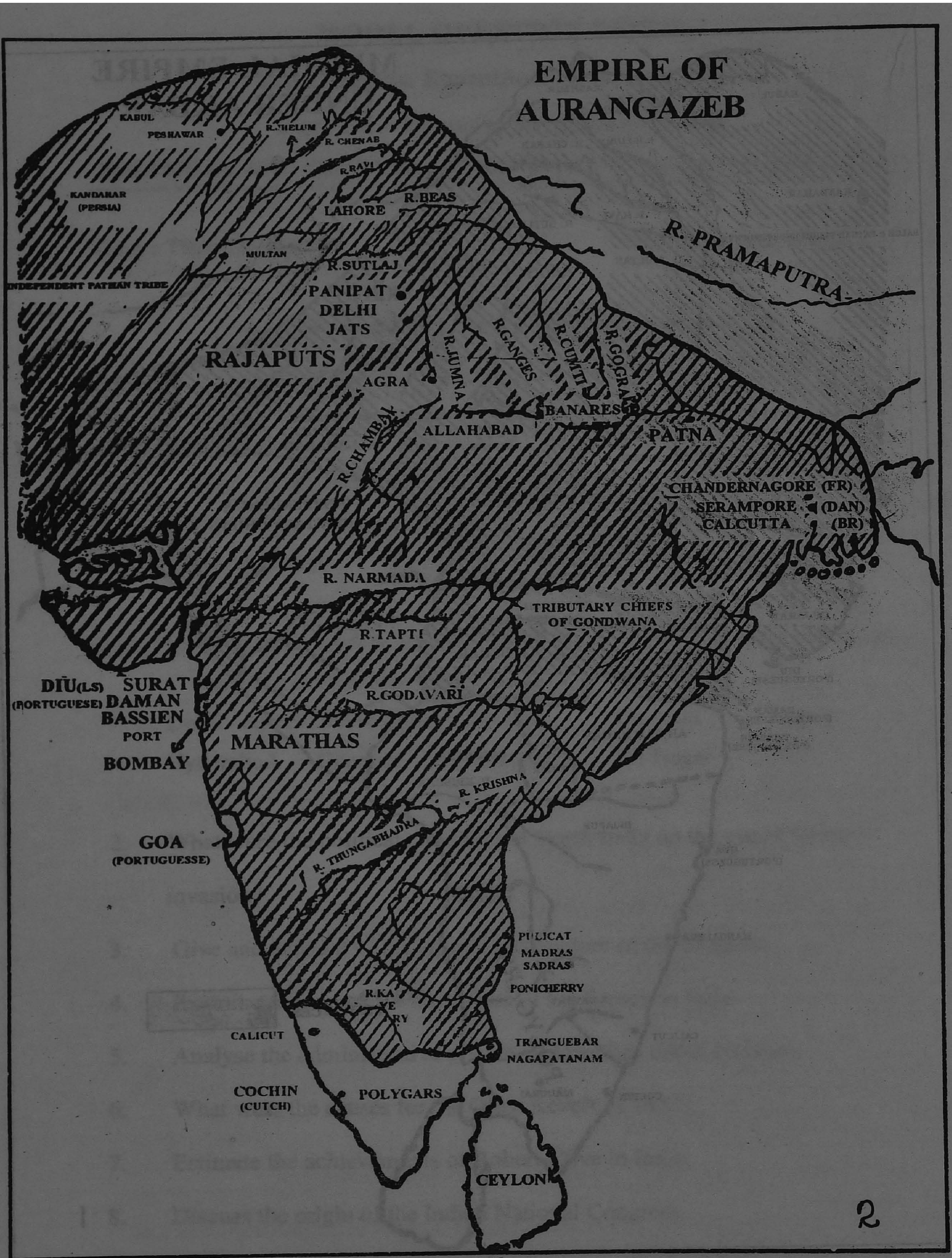
10. What are the salient features of the Indian Constitution?



MUGHAL EMPIRE UNDER AKBAR

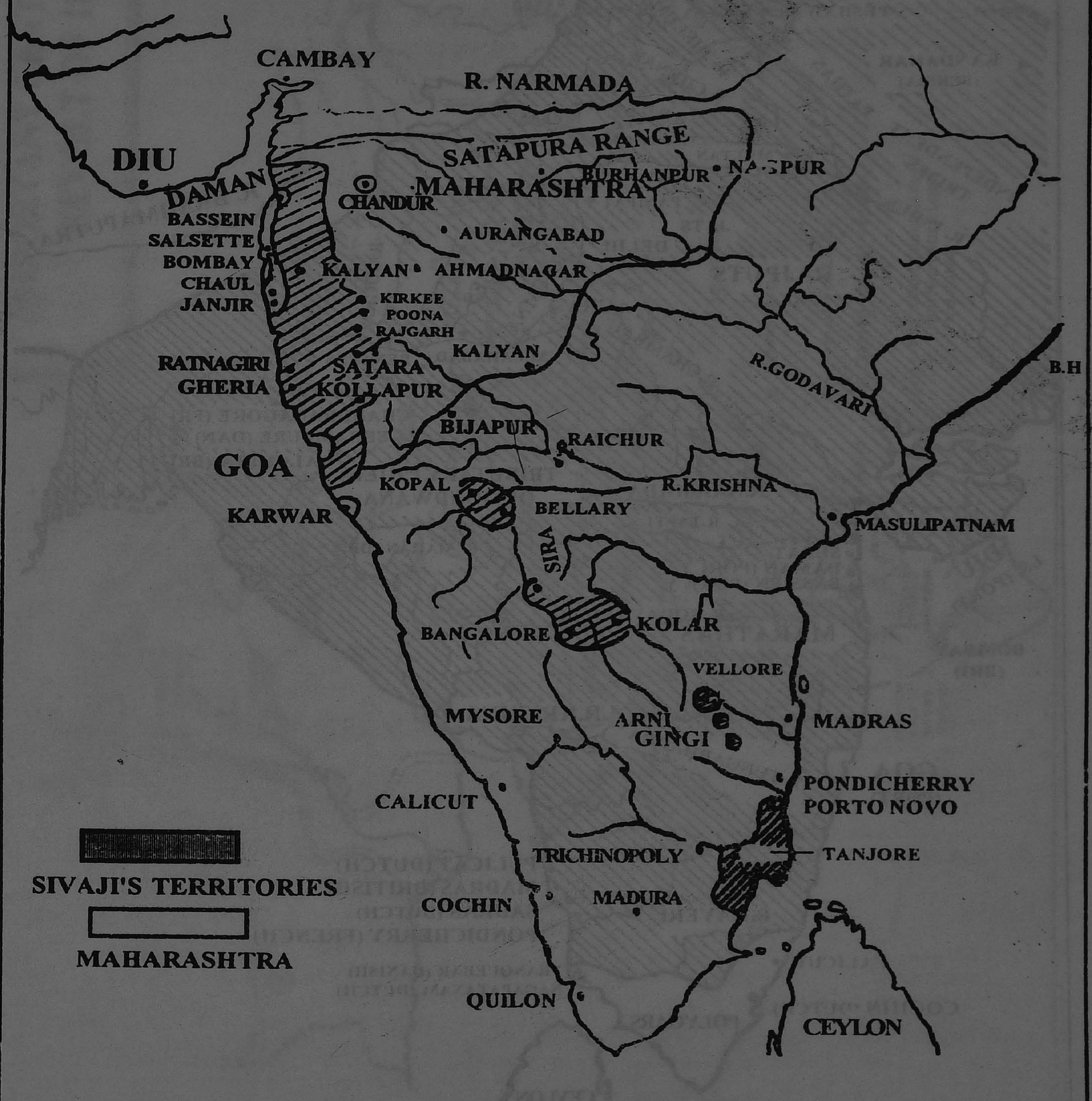
KABUL
PESHAWAR
KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
R.JHELUM
R. CHENAB
LAHORE
KANDAHAR
R.RAVI
R. SUTLEJ
BALCH & PATHAN TRIBES (INDEPENDENT)
PANIPAT
MULTAN
DELHI
Oudh
R. GANGES
R. JAMUNA
R. GOGRA
BIHAR
BENARES
TATTA
ALLAHABAD
GWALIOR
AJMIR
BENGAL
INDEPENDENT & TRIBUTARY CHIEFS
MALWA
AHMADABAD
R. NARMADA
KHANDESH
GUJARAT
R.MAHANADI
R.TAPTI
BERAR
DIU (PORTUGUESE)
R. GODAVARI
DAMAN (PORTUGUESE)
BASSEIN (PORTUGUESE)
AHMAD NAGAR
GOLCONDA
BIDAR
R. KRISHNA
BIJAPUR
GOA (PORTUGUESS)
NELLORE
MANGALORE
POLYGARS
AKBAR'S PROVINCES
R.KAVERY
CALICUT
MADURAI
COCHIN
1

EMPIRE OF AURANGAZEB


KABUL
PESHAWAR
R.JHELUM
R. CHENAB
R.RAVI
KANDAHAR (PERSIA)
R.BEAS
LAHORE
MULTAN
R.SUTLAJ
INDEPENDENT PATHAN TRIBE
PANIPAT
DELHI
JATS
RAJAPUTS
R. PRAMAPUTRA
R.GANGES
R.CUMTI
R.GOGRA
R.JUMNA
AGRA
R.CHAMBAL
BANARES
ALLAHABAD
PATNA
CHANDERNAGORE (FR)
SERAMPORE (DAN)
CALCUTTA (BR)
R. NARMADA
TRIBUTARY CHIEFS OF GONDWANA
R.TAPTI
DIU (LS) (PORTUGUESE)
SURAT
DAMAN
BASSIEN
PORT
BOMBAY
R.GODAVARI
MARATHAS
R. KRISHNA
GOA (PORTUGUESSE)
R. THUNGABHADRA
PULICAT
MADRAS
SADRAS
PONICHERRY
R.KAVERY
CALICUT
TRANGUEBAR
NAGAPATANAM
COCHIN (CUTCH)
POLYGARS
CEYLON

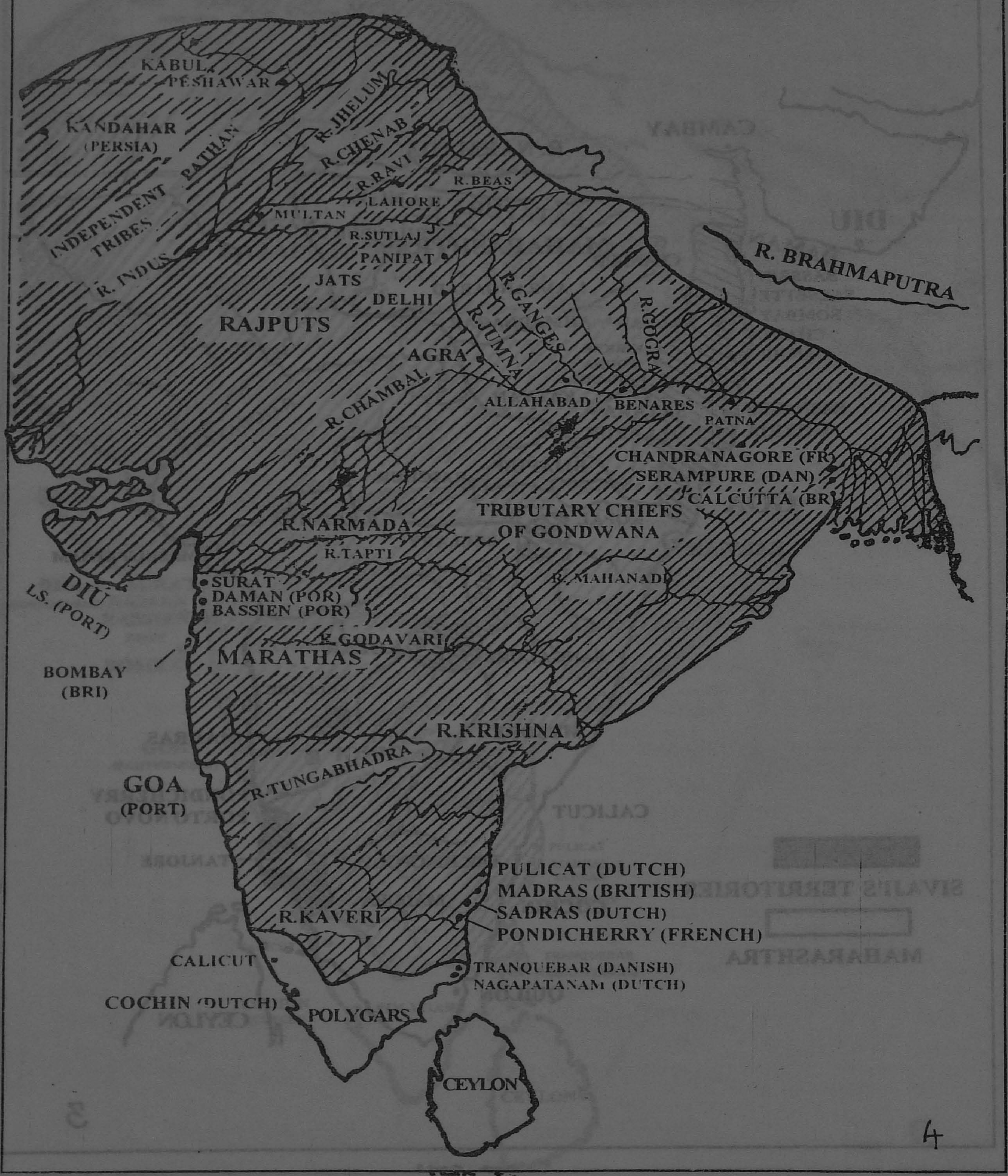
2

EMPIRE OF SHIVAJI

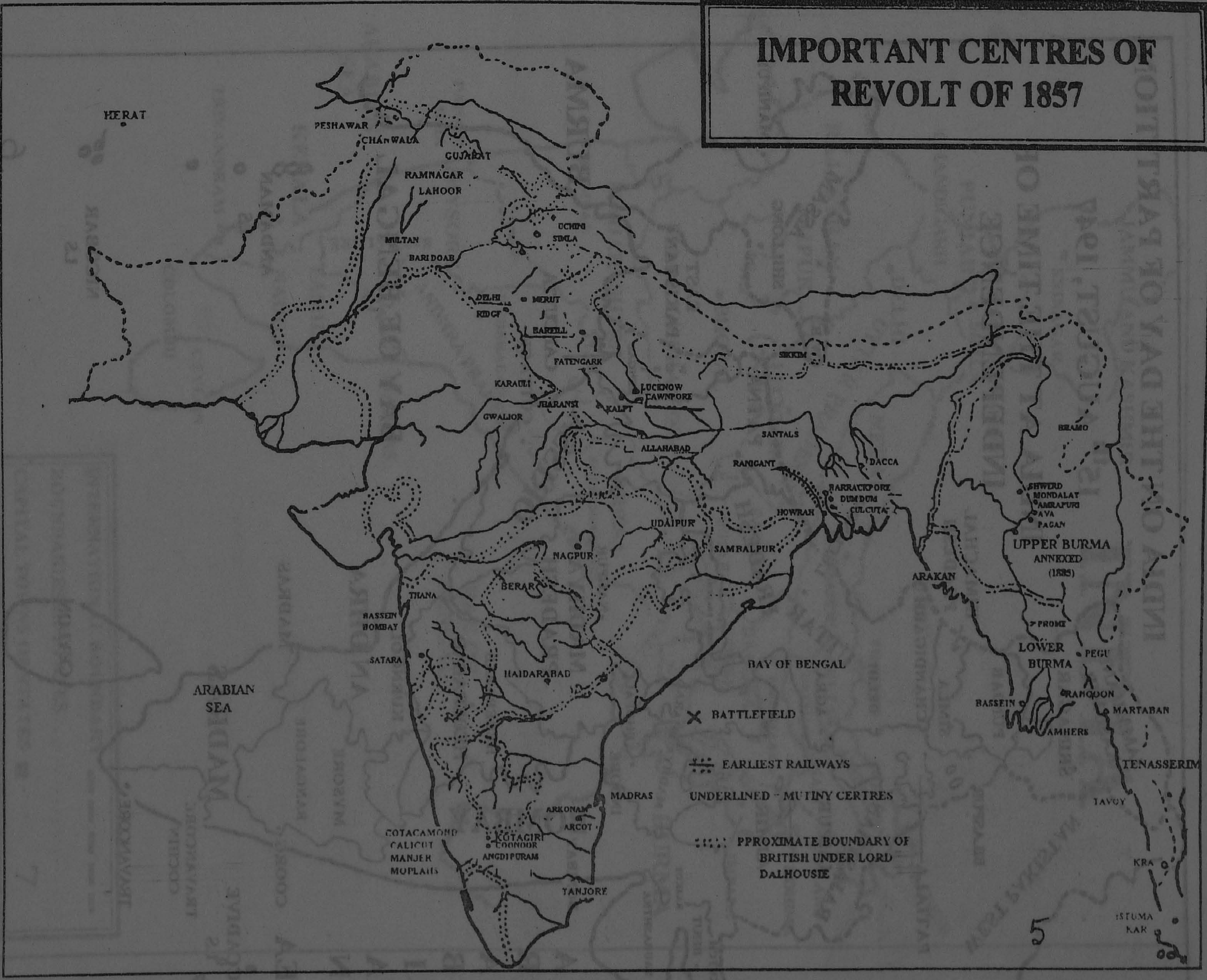

CAMBAY
R. NARMADA
DIU
DAMAN
SATAPURA RANGE
BURHANPUR
NAGPUR
CHANDUR
MAHARASHTRA
BASSEIN
SALSETTE
BOMBAY
CHAUL
JANJIR
KALYAN
AURANGABAD
AHMADNAGAR
KIRKEE
POONA
RAJGARH
KALYAN
R.GODAVARI
B.H
RATNAGIRI
GHERIA
SATARA
KOLLAPUR
BIJAPUR
RAICHUR
GOA
KOPAL
R.KRISHNA
KARWAR
BELLARY
MASULIPATNAM
SIRA
BANGALORE
KOLAR
VELLORE
MYSORE
ARNI
GINGI
MADRAS
PONDICHERRY
PORTO NOVO
CALICUT
TRICHINOPOLY
TANJORE
COCHIN
MADURA
QUILON
CEYLON
▨ SIVAJI'S TERRITORIES
☐ MAHARASHTRA

3

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS


KABUL
PESHAWAR
KANDAHAR (PERSIA)
PATHAN
INDEPENDENT TRIBES
R. INDUS
R. JHELUM
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
R. BEAS
LAHORE
MULTAN
R. SUTLAJ
PANIPAT
JATS
DELHI
RAJPUTS
R. GANGES
R. JUMNA
R. GUGRA
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
AGRA
R. CHAMBAL
ALLAHABAD
BENARES
PATNA
CHANDRANAGORE (FR)
SERAMPURE (DAN)
CALCUTTA (BR)
TRIBUTARY CHIEFS OF GONDWANA
R. NARMADA
R. TAPTI
R. MAHANADI
DIU
LS. (PORT)
SURAT
DAMAN (POR)
BASSIEN (POR)
R. GODAVARI
MARATHAS
BOMBAY (BRI)
R. KRISHNA
R. TUNGABHADRA
GOA (PORT)
PULICAT (DUTCH)
MADRAS (BRITISH)
SADRAS (DUTCH)
PONDICHERRY (FRENCH)
R. KAVERI
CALICUT
TRANQUEBAR (DANISH)
NAGAPATANAM (DUTCH)
COCHIN (DUTCH)
POLYGARS
CEYLON

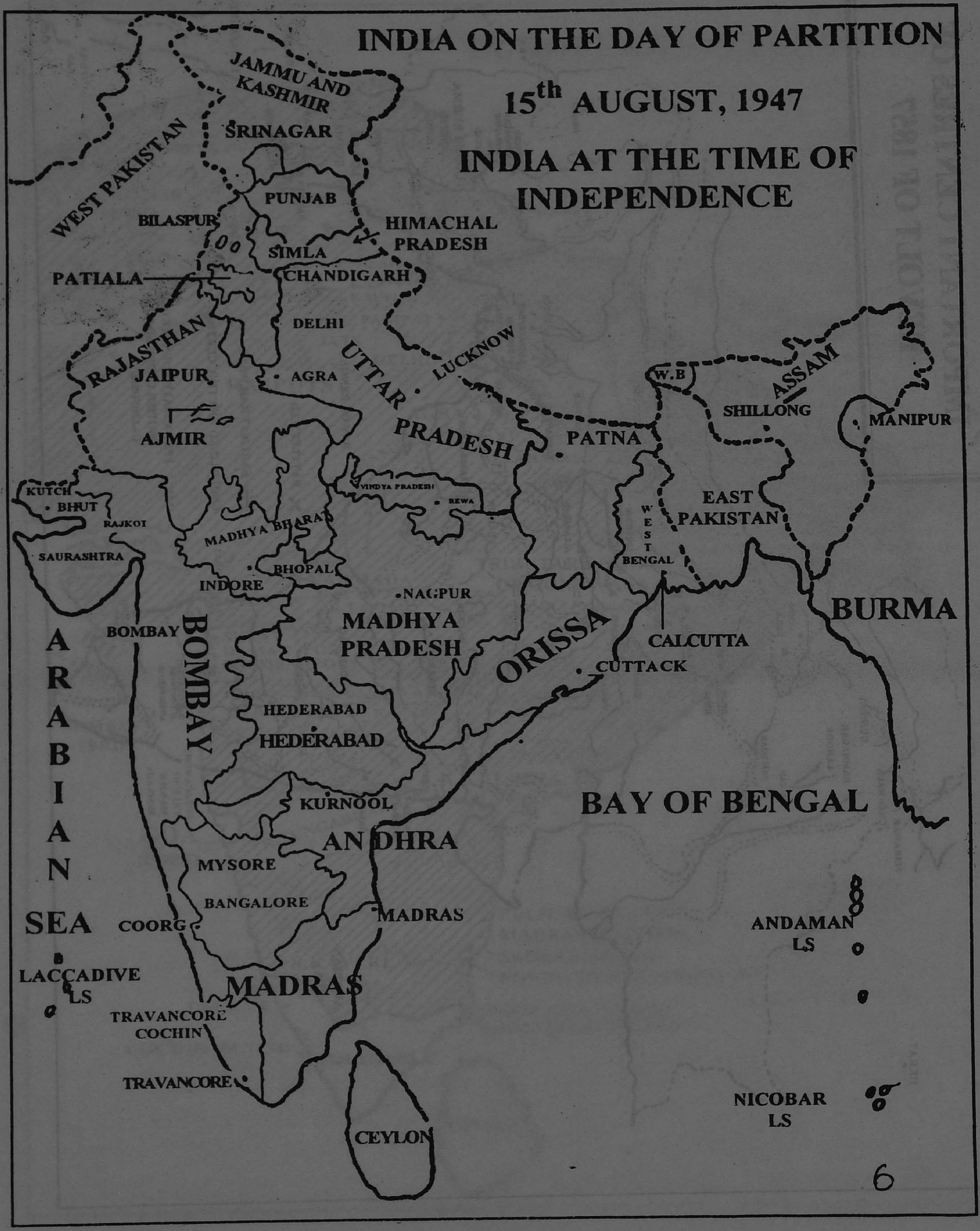
IMPORTANT CENTRES OF REVOLT OF 1857


HERAT
PESHAWAR
CHANWALA
GUJARAT
RAMNAGAR
LAHOOR
MULTAN
BARI DOAB
UCHINI
SIMLA
DELHI
RIDGE
MERUT
BAREILL
FATENGARK
SIKKIM
KARAULI
LUCKNOW
CAWNPORE
JHARANSI
KALPI
GWALIOR
SANTALS
ALLAHABAD
RANIGANT
DACCA
BARRACKPORE
DUM DUM
CULCUTA
HOWRAH
UDAIPUR
SAMBALPUR
NAGPUR
BERAR
THANA
BASSEIN
BOMBAY
SATARA
HAIDARABAD
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
MADRAS
ARKONAM
ARCOT
COTACAMOND
CALICUT
MANJER
MOPLAHS
KOTAGIRI
COONOOR
ANGDIPURAM
TANJORE
BHAMO
SHWERD
MONDALAY
AMRAPURI
AVA
PAGAN
UPPER BURMA ANNEXED (1885)
ARAKAN
PROME
LOWER BURMA
PEGU
BASSEIN
RANGOON
MARTABAN
AMHERS
TENASSERIM
TAVOY
KRA
ISTUMA KAR
✕ BATTLEFIELD
EARLIEST RAILWAYS
UNDERLINED - MUTINY CERTRES
PPROXIMATE BOUNDARY OF BRITISH UNDER LORD DALHOUSIE
5

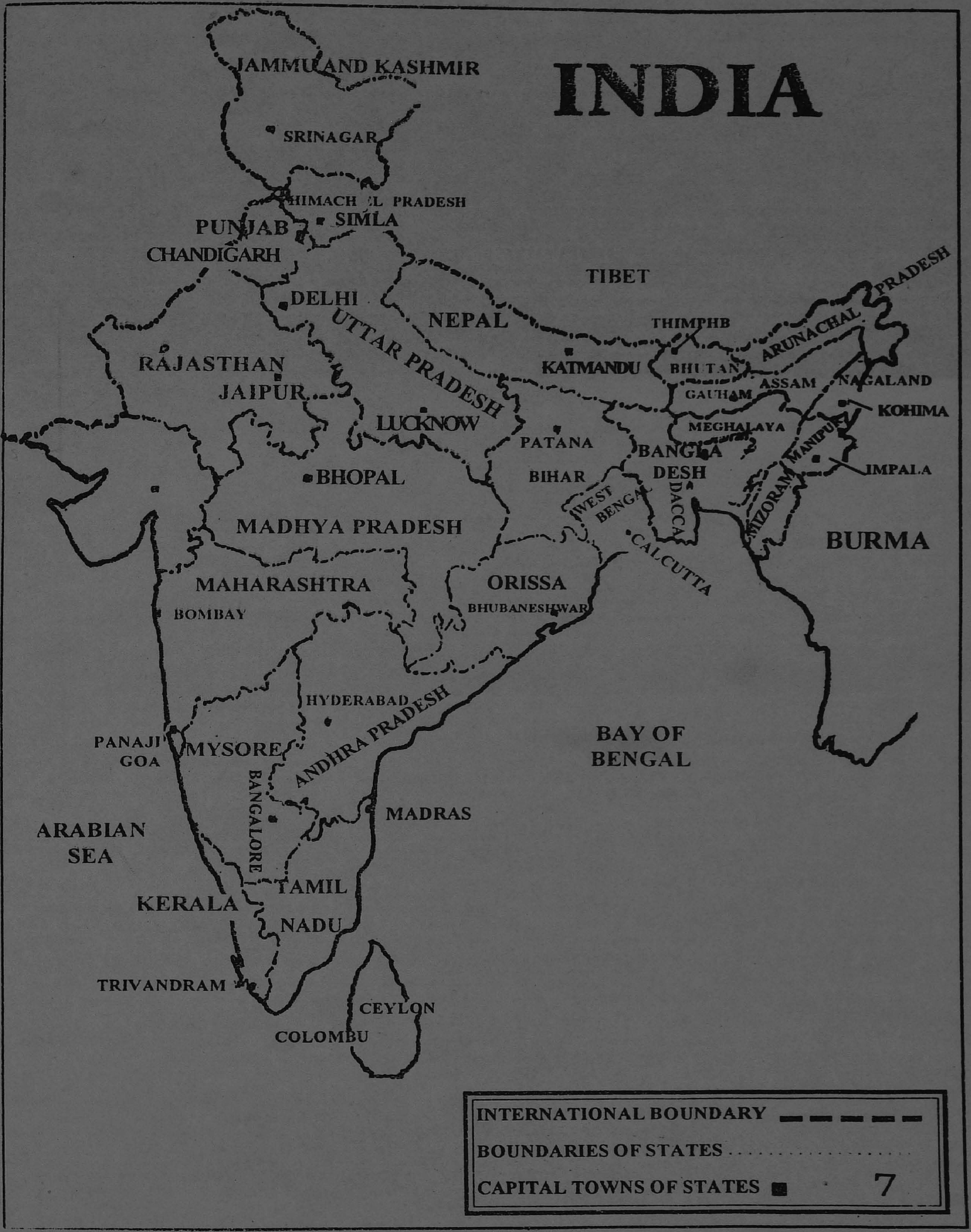
INDIA ON THE DAY OF PARTITION

15th AUGUST, 1947

INDIA AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE


JAMMU AND KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
WEST PAKISTAN
PUNJAB
BILASPUR
HIMACHAL PRADESH
SIMLA
PATIALA
CHANDIGARH
DELHI
RAJASTHAN
JAIPUR
AGRA
UTTAR PRADESH
LUCKNOW
AJMIR
PATNA
W.B
ASSAM
SHILLONG
MANIPUR
KUTCH
BHUT
RAJKOT
SAURASHTRA
MADHYA BHARAT
VINDYA PRADESH
REWA
BHOPAL
INDORE
EAST PAKISTAN
WEST BENGAL
NAGPUR
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
CALCUTTA
CUTTACK
BURMA
BOMBAY
BOMBAY
ARABIAN SEA
HEDERABAD
HEDERABAD
KURNOOL
ANDHRA
BAY OF BENGAL
MYSORE
BANGALORE
COORG
MADRAS
MADRAS
ANDAMAN LS
LACCADIVE LS
TRAVANCORE COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
NICOBAR LS
CEYLON

6



INDIA

JAMMU AND KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
HIMACHAL PRADESH
SIMLA
PUNJAB
CHANDIGARH
DELHI
TIBET
NEPAL
UTTAR PRADESH
THIMPHB
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
RAJASTHAN
JAIPUR
KATMANDU
BHUTAN
ASSAM
NAGALAND
GAUHAM
KOHIMA
LUCKNOW
MEGHALAYA
PATANA
BANGLA DESH
MANIPUR
IMPALA
BHOPAL
BIHAR
DACCA
WEST BENGAL
MIZORAM
MADHYA PRADESH
BURMA
CALCUTTA
MAHARASHTRA
ORISSA
BHUBANESHWAR
BOMBAY
HYDERABAD
ANDHRA PRADESH
BAY OF BENGAL
PANAJI
GOA
MYSORE
BANGALORE
MADRAS
ARABIAN SEA
TAMIL NADU
KERALA
TRIVANDRAM
CEYLON
COLOMBU
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
BOUNDARIES OF STATES
CAPITAL TOWNS OF STATES ■